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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XIV.—OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1923—No. 4

A LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL ATLAS OF THE RAETIAN AND ITALIAN SPEECH- DOMAIN OF SWITZERLAND AND OF UPPER AND CENTRAL ITALY¹

A. PLAN OF THE ATLAS.—B. METHOD EMPLOYED IN THE
RECORDING OF DIALECTS FROM 1918-1923;
RESULTS TO BE ATTAINED

A. PLAN OF THE ATLAS

I

AS is well known, J. Gilliéron and E. Edmont published in the years 1902-1908 an *Atlas linguistique de la France* which was subsidized by the French Government. During the years 1897-1901 the entire French speech-domain lying without as well as within the frontiers of France had been traversed in all directions by E. Edmont, a Picard scholar of an unusually practical turn of mind, with a view to finding in some seven hundred towns natives likely to give him reliable information for the phonetic recording of dialectal varieties.

The originator of the whole undertaking, Jules Gilliéron, a native of Switzerland and Professor at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, had provided Edmont with a questionnaire of nearly two thousand words and phrases of literary French, for which the latter expected his informants to give him the corresponding dialectal equivalents.

The dialectal pronunciation was noted down by Edmont with the utmost possible accuracy by means of a special system

¹ In the pages that follow, the abbreviation *ASI* will invariably be used for the title *Atlas of the Raetian and Italian Speech-Domain*.

of transcription, and the results of this phonetic recording were immediately communicated to his collaborator at Paris, who at once prepared the collected material for printing on speech-charts. In these charts the entire French speech-domain is placed before our eyes, the numbers designating the localities in which Edmont made his dialect study, and the dialectal form standing immediately by the side of the number. Thanks to this ingenious geographical arrangement of the dialect material, the student may survey at a glance the dialectal expressions corresponding to a given literary word or phrase, and is thus relieved to a very considerable extent of the arduous and time-consuming task of collecting the material himself. In the charts devised by Gilliéron, the status of the French dialects towards the close of the nineteenth century has, as it were, been fixed in an instantaneous photograph.

The linguistic atlas of France is a work which can never be supplanted for the reason that even today the particular phase of the French dialects which it represents has already passed into history. By a number of fundamental studies based upon the material of his *Atlas linguistique de la France*, Gilliéron has blazed new paths for science.

The fundamental considerations underlying the methods of investigation originated by him, methods based upon the principle that linguistic phenomena are determined by geographical conditions, may be summed up as follows:

(a) It is in atlases that the direction and course of the speech-waves traversing a given country may be graphically portrayed.

(b) Speech-charts permit us to discern, more clearly than would otherwise be possible, the stratification of linguistic phenomena and the history of their development.

(c) The close relations existing between the political, ecclesiastical and linguistic history of a people are thus made to stand out with surprising clearness. In France, for illustration, the question as to the Iberian, Celtic and other pre-Roman survivals in the vocabulary receives an entirely new illumination from the study of the charts.

(d) The speech-charts serve to deepen, if indeed they do not for the first time render possible, the scientific discussion of a

number of questions of principle, such as the extent of the validity of phonetic laws, the nature of analogy in language, the relation of word and meaning, the reasons for the loss of words, cultural and linguistic boundaries, etc. It is safe to say that by his publication of the *Atlas linguistique* Gilliéron ushered in a new era for Romance philology. As a result of this innnovation the lectures of Gilliéron became the rallying-point of the younger generation of European students of Romance linguistics. These students received from him new perspectives for their researches.

II

No one who has been in the habit of consulting the *Atlas linguistique de la France* for his studies in linguistic evolution can help regretting greatly the absence of a similar work for the Raetian and Italian dialects. And this all the more, inasmuch as these dialects, with the exception of certain parts of the Gallo-Romance territory, not only exhibit a greater variety of forms than the other Romance dialects, but are directly connected with those of the French domain, the Raetian-Italian territory being the continuation of the French. The Italian atlas is therefore an indispensable complement of the French. In many cases, the problems are the same in all the three territories. An atlas of Raetian-Italian folk-speech is therefore a great desideratum, and it is accordingly a source of great satisfaction to be able to say that its realization was undertaken some years ago by two Swiss scholars, Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud, the one Professor of Romance Philology in Berne, the other in Zurich; and that for the past three years and a half this work has been carried on by another Swiss investigator, Dr. Paul Scheuermeier, in the capacity of collecting expert ("explorator").

III

The questionnaire which Professors Jaberg and Jud employ for the Raetian-Italian speech-territory is somewhat more comprehensive than the one used for the purpose of the *Atlas linguistique de la France*. While arranged according to similar principles, it is adapted to the peculiar cultural and linguistic genius of the Raetian and Italian population of Switzerland

and of Italy. It is the outgrowth of the experiences which the two investigators had in the course of their dialect studies in Piedmont, in Lombardy, in the Swiss cantons of Ticino and the Grisons. This questionnaire, which we call the "normal questionnaire," comprises about two thousand words, and forms a number which for purposes of publication would require as many charts. This so-called "normal questionnaire" was used as the basis of investigation in about two hundred and thirty places. In addition to this we prepared a larger questionnaire comprising nearly four thousand words and forms, intended to serve as the basis of examination in about twenty places. Finally, our collecting expert ("explorator") is provided with a reduced questionnaire of about eight hundred words and short sentences, which is to answer the purpose of dialect-recording in the larger cities.

In the following paragraph we give, by way of illustration, one of the pages of the questionnaire which Dr. Scheuermeier employs in examining the dialect of his respective informants.

L'orzo è maturo
 l'avena non è ancora matura
 la spiga plur
 le stoppie
 il miglio
 il gran turco
 la pannocchia (torsolo, tutolo)
 i cartocci (foglie secche della pannocchia, del granturco.
 il tempo delle messe
 mietere (spiegazione esatta della parola)
 spigolare
 la falce messoria (è dentata o liscia?)
 segare il formento (si sega colla falce messoria o colla falce
 fienaia?)
 il mietitore, la mietitrice.
 il covone (forma: manipolo?)
 legare i covoni, lega i covoni.

In contrast to Gilliéron and Edmont, the directors of the Raetian-Italian *Atlas* went a step further in that they decided

to include in their study *objects* as well as words, by recording them either by photography or by free-hand drawing, with a view later—if occasion should arise—to reproducing them cartographically, or else publishing them in an illustrated supplementary volume (showing, *e.g.*, the distribution of certain forms of houses, of tools, of agricultural methods, etc.).

IV

The tour of exploration undertaken by Dr. Scheuermeier may be compared to an expedition in the service of the geographical or natural sciences. Just as the student of natural science collects animals, plants or minerals, or the ethnologist collects tools and other cultural products of foreign peoples, or makes observations on their manner of living and their ideas, so does the student of dialects collect words and forms. To prepare a collection, to arrange in systematic order the material collected, and to render it accessible for general use either in a library or in a published work, such is the first task to be performed by the directors of a voyage of dialect exploration.

The dialect study necessary for the *Atlas linguistique de la France* was undertaken by E. Edmont; that for the *ASI*, as has already been said, by Dr. Paul Scheuermeier, a young Swiss philologist. Before assuming this task, Dr. Scheuermeier had already made himself familiar with its difficult problems partly by his preparations for an exceedingly meritorious dissertation published in 1920,² partly through practical instruction in dialect notation received chiefly from Professor Jaberg.

It need hardly be said that the successful exploration of *patois* or dialects requires very special qualifications of both a physical and a moral order. The explorer must be physically fit, in order to endure the primitive and uncomfortable conditions of life in which he has to work. He must, as well, be prepared to dispel the suspicion and win the confidence of those who are to be his informants as to their native speech. He must be a close observer, discovering and photographing types of houses, domestic utensils and agricultural implements which are peculiar to a certain region. He must be interested

² *Einige Bezeichnungen für den Begriff "Höhle" in den romanischen Alpen-dialekten.* Halle, 1920 (Beiheft der Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 69).

in the kind of implement for thrashing grain employed today and in former times by the peasant of Lombardy, of Piedmont, of Tuscany, of the Swiss cantons of Ticino and the Grisons. Instead of contenting himself with the expression *farcla* for 'sickle,' he must seek to ascertain whether the sickle is "toothed" or "plain," etc. All these requirements are met by Dr. Scheuermeier, who has shown himself to be at once explorer, ethnographer and photographer.

V

As to the pecuniary means necessary for the accomplishment of this work, they were obtained not from the State, but from private patrons of science, in coöperation with the "Foundation for Scientific Research at the University of Zurich" and the "University Association (*Hochschulverein*) of Berne." 19000 francs were contributed by the Zurich Foundation, 10000 by the generosity of the well-known Milan publisher, Dr. U. Hoepli (a native of Switzerland), and 1600 each by Messrs. A. Tobler, P. Jaberg, Hardmeyer & Abegg, and the directors of the undertaking.

B. MANNER OF EXECUTION OF THE WORK, AND RESULTS TO BE ATTAINED

Dr. Scheuermeier began his tour of exploration on November 19, 1919. By the end of April of the present year (1923), that is, after an uninterrupted itinerary of nearly three years and a half, he had covered the territory shown by Chart No. I, here subjoined:

Almost the whole of Raetian and Italian Switzerland, the whole of Upper Italy north of the river Po between Fiume and Monte Viso, and almost the whole of Piedmont as well as the Riviera di Ponente, Emilia and Romagna.

In one hundred and eighty villages which the directors had carefully selected in advance, Dr. Scheuermeier recorded the dialect peculiarities uniformly on the basis of the "normal questionnaire." As for the other questionnaire, which, as stated above, was adapted to the varying natural and cultural conditions of the Alps and the plain, we are glad to say that it stood the test admirably.

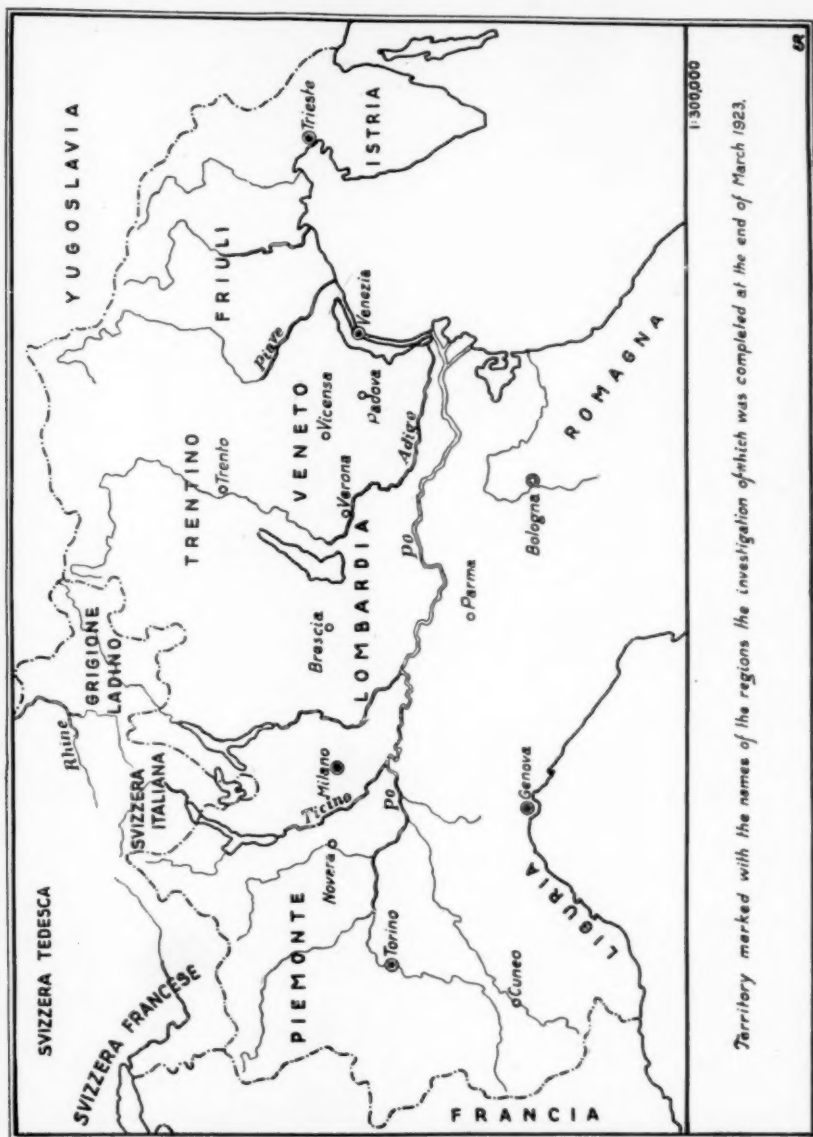


CHART I

Take, for example, the following illustration: The multi-form variety of expressions for the idea 'to stutter' found by Dr. Scheuermeier in the dialects of Italian Switzerland and Upper Italy is surprisingly great. As a result of the study of more than thirty Lombard *patois* spoken between the Ticino and the Mincio, he received the following equivalents to the formula: *tarlaglia*,³ 'he stutters':

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) al bɛtɛga, bɛtɛga (in eleven places) | (9) al kʊkɛθa |
| (2) al mɛtɛgɑ | (10) al kakáza |
| (3) pɛtɛga | (11) ɛl kɛkia |
| (4) al bʉtɛga | (12) al kɔŋkɛta |
| (5) žbɛθɛga | (13) ɛ s' intartáya, tartáya (in six places) |
| (6) al baǵótɑ | (14) parla tartáy |
| (7) al s' iŋkukũna | (15) ɛl dardáta |
| (8) al s' ɛŋkukáya | (16) ɛl šforsfoyo, etc. |

As names of the lizard we find, beside many variants of *lucerta*, the following forms in the territories of Venetia, Friuli and Istria.

a. Variants and transformations of *lucerta*:

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| (1) ližerte, ližerta, užerta, ižertoya | (6) džɛtara |
| (2) lužertie | (7) θitarótɛ |
| (3) ližɛltrɛ | (8) nažɛrda |
| (4) rižíarta, rišárdu'a | (9) žgrižárdyla |
| (5) dižvyerta | (10) bišárdola |

b. Other equivalents:

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| (1) žbíšɛ, žbíša | (5) bišaɔrbuya |
| (2) skɔrkɔríða | (6) bišárboya |
| (3) kūšcarítsa, gūšcarítsa | (7) rigɛstuya |
| (4) būrítuya | |

From the above examples it will be seen to what an extent *ASI* at one stroke exposes the great diversity of forms and

³ The phonetic transcription adopted conforms on the whole to the system used by Boehmer: *č*, *ǵ* are the palatal sounds of English *church*, *just*. *l* is *l* mouillé. *θ* is the voiceless spirant of English *thin*, *ð* the voiced spirant of English *then*. *s* denotes a voiceless spirant between *s* and *š*.

words in the domain under review. The student will no longer be obliged to turn the leaves of scores of dictionaries in order to collect the names of the lizard, or the forms of the word for Ital. *pipistrello*, or the expressions for the idea 'to limp'; one single chart will open up before him the linguistic situation throughout the whole of Italy, which, in certain sections at least, will be made even more perspicuous by means of photographs. To illustrate: the chart for the designation of the 'scythe' will give not only all the vocables for this idea employed in Italy, but will also supply pictures of the various types of scythe in the several regions of Switzerland and Italy. At the end of April of the current year more than one thousand photographs were at hand preserving the record of an exceedingly rich *matériel* which will unquestionably prove of great interest to the student of ethnography.

Types of provincial buildings, domestic utensils of varied form employed for reeling and spinning, archaic methods of thrashing, types of ploughs and oil-presses, various forms of the scythe, of the sickle, of the implements for haying, the everywhere divergent forms of the cart and of the sleigh and sled peculiar to the plain and the Alps, etc.,—all these objects are permanently recorded in the pictures.

Subjoined are the reproductions of a few photographs which may serve to show how the study of words is planned to go hand in hand with that of things.

How clearly the speech-life of modern Italy is mirrored in our charts may be well seen in the two which follow.

On the first chart (No. II) will be found registered the dialect forms for Italian *giovedì* in the Upper-Italian territory lying north of the Po. For brevity, the distribution of the several types is indicated in the chart by means of hatching.

Upper Italy and Italo-Raetian Switzerland have today two ⁴ types of words for 'Thursday': (1) JOVIS DIE: *giovedì* (hatched in vertical straight lines); (2) *jovia* (= DIES JOVIA): *giobia* ⁵ (indicated with dots). E.g., Piedm. *giobia*, Venet. *zioba*, Friul.

⁴ The Western Alps, on whose Italian side one also hears Provençal and Franco-Provençal dialects, have *jeus* < *jovis*, or let us say *diȝos* (vertical wavy line).

⁵ For practical reasons the common form peculiar to a whole region is here given in Italian transcription (i.e., with the spelling of literary Italian).

joibe, Raetian central *žuebia* (Gröden), Engad. *giövgia*, Sursilv. *giëvgia* (also Sardinian, as Logudor. *jobia*).

As will be seen from the chart above, in Central Italy *jovia* is today crowded back to the Alps, and the literary word *giovedì* is steadily advancing across the Po. The medieval dialect texts of Upper Italy leave no doubt that in former times *jovia* was current even in those parts of Upper Italy where today people say *giovedì*.



Dr. Scheuermeier taking down the dialect-forms given him by his informant in Grado near Aquileia. This informant is one of the last surviving representatives of the archaic Venetian dialect of the island.

Milan and Pavia say today *giovedì*, but in the Middle Ages they said *zobia*. No less instructive in this respect is Como. While today this city also uses *giovedì*, not more than eighty years ago it used *giöbia*, as we learn from the following statement of Pietro Monti, *Vocabolario dei dialetti della città e diocesi di Como* (1854): "Udii già *giöbia* da vecchi montanari presso Como; ora è viva solo nella frase *giöbia* o *giöbiana* grassa, 'giovedì grasso.'"

Our modern chart permits us in a measure to see how *giovedì* is taking possession of Upper Italy: The squares indicate the

points where today we already hear *giovedì* in the midst of the *jovia*-territory or very close to it. The cities of Genoa, Verona and Novara are the first to adopt the literary form. The capital sets the example for the speech of the province: Milan having surrendered to *giovedì* as long as two centuries ago, a large part of the Milanese *campagna* has passed over to the same form, and we find this form even now entering the Swiss canton of Ticino along the St. Gotthard-line, and dislodging *jovia*. It appears very clearly from this how well our chart preserves a given phase of the linguistic unification of the domain of Italian speech, setting forth in small compass how the *κοινή* of modern Italy is making conquest of the dialects.



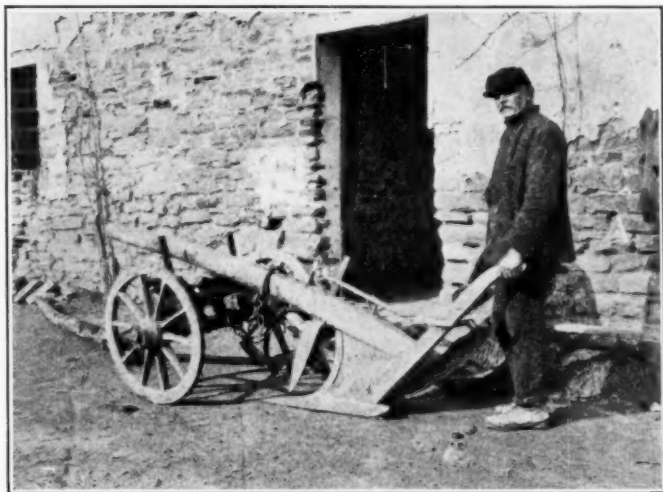
Picture taken in the fishing village of Grado, July 11, 1922. The people are standing in front of the *kazūni*, or fisher huts made chiefly of reed grass, with one single room, one gate or door and one window. In the square is seen standing a *balirōn* or large "barile" (= barrel), and leaning on this some *stāvāli* or boots, which the fishermen use in wading in the water. On the right is seen a boy carrying a *kefo* or fish-basket; on the left several nets and contrivances for catching fish (described in the *Atlas*).

The next chart (No. III) represents to us the dialect forms of the name for 'church,' Ital. *chiesa*. Here we may today distinguish three different territories:

(1) The Raetian *baselgia* (< BASILICA) of the Swiss canton of the Grisons;

(2) *Gesa* (that is, with voiced fricative), corresponding to the Old French *église*, *glise* (cf. *glande*, Fr. *gland*, Upper Ital. *ğanda*);

(3) the zone having *česa* (that is, with voiceless fricative), which corresponds exactly to Ital. *chiesa* (cf. Ital. *chiamare*, Upper Ital. *čamar*; Ital. *chiaro*, Upper Ital. *čar*).



A typical plough of the Romagna, photographed in Brisighella, south of Faenza, February 1, 1923. The indigenous name of this plough is *ε* *parğēr*, its fore-carriage being called *ε* *kariñal* (described in detail in the *Atlas*).

If now we wish to find out whether *ğesa* or *česa* is the older form in Upper Italy, we shall obtain an unmistakable hint from the chart itself: *ğesa* is not met with anywhere within the sphere of *česa*, whereas the latter form appears at two points within the sphere of *ğesa*, namely in Turin and in Cuneo. We see furthermore that *ğesa*, the same as *jovia* in the preceding chart, is pushed back toward the Alps. The disposition of *ğesa* is peripheral (Friuli, Alps, Piedmont), whereas that of *česa* is central, this form being in direct touch with the centre of Italy (Emilia, Romagna, Toscana). Here again the charters and other old texts prove beyond a doubt that in former times

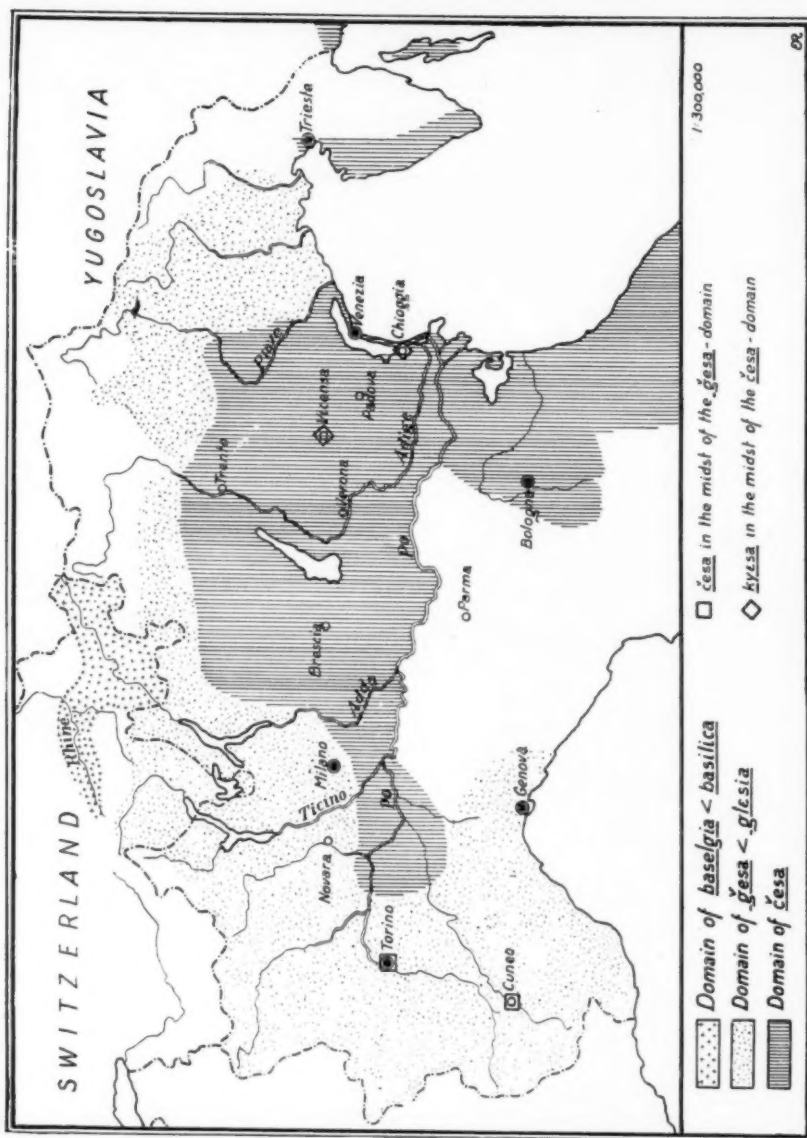


CHART III

česa was in current use in the modern domain of česa, in other words, that gesa lies embedded under the cover of česa.

In Treviso today česa, in the Middle Ages giesia.

In Venetia today česa, in the Middle Ages glesia.

In Trento today česa, in the Middle Ages giesia.

In Bergamo today česa, in the Middle Ages zesia.

Another instructive lesson to be drawn from our chart is the importance of the capital of a diocese for linguistic development. Milan and Como having tenaciously retained the old form česa, this form is still familiar to the whole diocese from Milan to Como; on the other hand, the cities of Bergamo, Verona and Trent having adopted česa, have been followed in this by the major part of the respective diocese.



Taken at Brisighella February 1, 1923. The man is seen holding on his back a basket bowed out in the middle, *s'čst da karga*, in which grapes are carried. To the left and the right of the door there are other baskets; at the right *gova*, at the left *krč*, both kinds being employed for carrying fodder. Leaning against the door are seen, from left to right: *la pčala*, 'shovel'; *la sčrča*, 'flail'; *č včl*, 'sieve with longish holes' (modern); *č tramčs*, 'sieve with round holes' (both used for cleaning corn); standing on the two sieves lying on the floor we find *č zdčs*, 'a fine wire-sieve for flour.'

The history of *ecclesia* may therefore be read on our speech-charts very much as geological phenomena may be read on a geological chart, and may be summed up as follows:

(1) In the Middle Ages *ġesa* was the form currently used in the whole of Upper Italy north of the Po.

(2) The form *česa* is a compromise between Ital. *chiesa* and the old indigenous *ġesa*, the analogy of such parallels as *CHiaro*: *čar*, *CHiamare*: *čamar*, *CHiave*: *čaf* having led to the development of *česa* as a form standing closer to *CHiesa*. As has already been said, *česa* is pressing *ġesa* more and more to the North, East and West, and is now in possession of all central Upper Italy.

(3) Within this new domain of *česa*, however, we find a form *kyeza* at two points. In these two points, in other words, the literary form *chiesa* is beginning to usurp the place of *česa*. It is thus that our charts permit us today to follow step by step the process of the linguistic unification of Italy. Our charts reflect the linguistic conditions of 1920. Twenty years from now, this unifying movement in favor of *česa* and *čhiesa* will doubtless be found to have made very considerable progress to the disadvantage of *ġesa*. It will be clear from this that the study of the charts of this linguistic atlas affords a deep insight into the various phases of the decline of the dialects of Italy and the encroachment of the literary speech of Tuscan origin upon the North and the Centre of the Peninsula.

V

The recording of dialects by the *ASI*, which, as has been said, is to comprise Raetian and Italian Switzerland, Emilia, Romagna, Liguria and Tuscany, will be completed by the end of the year 1923. As regards the details of the publication of the work, such as the printing, name of the publisher, etc., these will be made known to the readers of the *ROMANIC REVIEW* next year. In the present article the directors have only intended to call the attention of the English-speaking scientific public to a work which, in their opinion, cannot fail to impart a new and strong impulse to research in the field of Romance linguistics.⁶

K. JABERG, J. JUD

BERNE, ZURICH,
April 1923

⁶ Translated from the unpublished German original by H. R. Lang.

THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF TORRES NAHARRO'S COMEDIA TINELLARIA

TO the best of my knowledge no Spanish sixteenth century play has been preserved in more than one authentic version,¹ or even with notable authentic variants. With the exception of the collection of *Autos* reprinted by Rouanet from the great Madrid auto-manuscript and of a set of school-plays which are still unprinted, practically the whole of the sixteenth century Spanish drama has come down to us in printed editions only, and these not always first editions, nor often in more than one copy. Under such conditions it is all the more interesting to find an authentic and unknown version of a play by Torres Naharro, the father, some say, of the Spanish drama, "en [cuyas] páginas, regocijadas y luminosas," as Menéndez y Pelayo put it, "vive la triunfante alegría del Renacimiento español."² The play is the *Comedia Tinellaria*, a masterly *cuadro de costumbres* which in certain early sixteenth century circles enjoyed a popularity comparable with that of the *Celestina*.³ It was included, as is well known, in the first edition of the *Propalladia*,

¹ The text of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz' *Farsa sobre el Matrimonio*, Medina del Campo, 1553 (or is it 1603?), reprinted by Gallardo (*Ensayo*, I, 929 ff.), differs somewhat from the text in the *Recopilación*, as reprinted by D. V. Barrantes, but there is no proof of its being authentic. The text of the *Farsa del Rey David* as reprinted by Gallardo (I, 718 ff.) is different from the text in the *Recopilación* only because the former does not include an adventitious sort of "Paso de un pastor y un portugues," attached to the *Farsa*, somewhat like the "Paso del Portugues" after the *Comedia Fenisa*. (Reprinted by A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Cinco obras dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega*, Rev. hisp., XXVII (1912), 390 ff.)

² End of his *Estudio preliminar* on Torres Naharro, in the edition of the *Propalladia* begun by M. Cañete in 1880 and concluded by Menéndez y Pelayo in 1900. *Libros de Antaño*, IX and X.

³ Said Silvano to the "Lozana Andaluza" in Rome: "... Dadme licencia, y mirá quando mandais que venga a serviros."

—Lozana. "Mi señor, no sea mañana ni el sábado, que terné priesa, pero sea el domingo á cená / y todo el lunes, porque quiero me leais, vos que teneis gracia, las coplas de Fajardo, y la comedia Tinalaria (*sic*) y á Celestina, que huelgo de oír leer estas cosas muncho." Francisco Delicado, *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza* (1524), Mamotreto, XLVII (*Colección de libros picarescos*, Madrid, Serra), p. 182.

Naples 1517, but had appeared before, in a *suelta*, of which a unique copy was discovered in the Public Library of Oporto,⁴ by D. Pascual de Gayangos. D. Pascual sent a description of his find to La Barrera for one of the supplements to La Barrera's *Catálogo*⁵ and Menéndez y Pelayo, in his study on the *Propalladia*, referred to it and reproduced the dedication.⁶ The dedication is addressed to Torres Naharro's patron, D. Bernardino Carvajal, Cardenal de Santa Cruz, who, because of his open revolt against the election of Julius II, had been excommunicated in 1511. It represents Carvajal as attending a performance of the *Tinellaria* before Julius the Second's successor, Leo X, who pardoned Carvajal in June 1513.⁷ The inference is that this performance took place, and that the *suelta* was printed, after 1513. Also before 1517, since Torres Naharro speaks of himself as not yet having published any of his plays.⁸ The *suelta* of the *Tinellaria* was thus well known, and might have been used for the modern edition of Torres Naharro's works, but although Menéndez y Pelayo procured transcripts of the *Psalm* and the *Concilio de los Galanes* from Oporto⁹ he probably neglected to do the same for the *Tinellaria*, for this *suelta* offers a somewhat different text of the *Tinellaria*, with a number of additional stanzas, enough in fact to justify its being called the original *version* of the play.¹⁰ It is evidently as authentic as the text of the 1517 edition, which Torres Naharro must personally have prepared.

The *suelta* has not yet been completely described:

COMEDIA TI= / NELARIA. / [Gothic letters:] Sãctissimo
Domino Nostro. D. L. / .X. Pont. Max. oblata: per / Barth. D.
Torres / Naharro [Papal Arms.] [At bottom, in ink, modern,

⁴ Included in a volume marked H. 1, 10 also containing the only known copies of Torres Naharro's *Psalm* and his *Concilio de los Galanes*.

⁵ See p. 722.

⁶ *L.c.*, II, p. xi, n. 2, after a copy furnished by Mrs. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos.

⁷ Menéndez y Pelayo, *l.c.*, pp. viii ff.

⁸ *Trasdesto me demando la causa porque no dexaua estampar lo que screuia. Si lo primero V. S. R. de otras cosas mias ouiera hecho. Lo segundo no estouiera por hazer.*" (Our italics.)

⁹ *L.c.*, p. xvii.

¹⁰ It is a pleasure to express sincere thanks to Mr. João Grave, Director of the Public Library of Oporto, whose kindness made it possible to secure a photographic reproduction of the Torres Naharro documents in Oporto.

1516]. Roman letter. 4°, 18 unnumbered sheets, including title-page. Sigs. Aii, B, Bii, C, Cii, D, Dii, Diii. Page-titles: PROHEMIO, ARGUMENTO, CO. TINEL. JOR. PRIMERA, CO. TINELARIA, JOR. PRIMERA [Primera . . . Qvinta]. Reverse of the title-page: Dedication. Aii: PROHEMIO, Following page: IORNADA PRIMERA, etc. Act V ends with ¶ DIXIMVS. No colophon.

There is little doubt that this *suelta* was used as a basis for the text of the *princeps*. Both have a number of identical misprints: *segum*, *soios*, *braueer* [?], *rrabaja*, *tiennen*, *desahaze*, *macebo*, *leuentar*. The *suelta* sometimes uses *z* instead of regular *c* (*zenar*, *zema*, *zenaremos*). Instead of *ñ*, which was not available in most Italian printerries, *nn* is used, wherever it is not possible to put an abbreviation sign for *n* on a preceding *a* or *e* (*compānero*). This, together with a few italianized spellings (*morto*; *antipasto*, *señor*) points to an Italian press.¹¹ The vocabulary has been consistently hispanized for the *princeps*. *Jarro* is substituted for *flasco* (It. *frasco*), *real* mostly for *carlin* (once for *iulio*), *hurtar* for *robar* (It. *rubare*), *establo* for *estala* (It. *stalla*), *meson* for *osteria*, *alquilada* for *logada* (It. *allogare*). The title *Cardenal de Bacano* replaces in most cases *Cardenal Egiptiano*.

The *Tinellaria* describes, as is well known, the extravagance, waste and dissolute life among the servants and retainers of large establishments, in this case, the household of a mythical cardinal of San Iano in Rome. The scene is the *tinelo* or servants' refectory, not unknown in Spanish literature.¹² There is no action, but much discussion, intrigue, quarreling, eating and drinking, amidst a babel

¹¹ There is no conclusive evidence of its having been published in Rome, as La Barrera ("hecha indudablemente en Roma") and Menéndez y Pelayo (*l.c.*, p. xi) would have it, although it is very likely, what with the pope's name and coat of arms on the title-page.

¹² Covarrubias defines it as: "lugar o aposento donde la familia [meaning of course the "famillos" or retainers] de vn señor se junta a comer, es nombre Aleman [de *tin* ó *tir* = *mesa*] . . . y hase de aduertir que estas mesmas son ordinarias [i.e., 'ordinaries,' 'table d'hôte eating-houses'] de gente, y que siempre estan puestas, como las de los refectorios." Marcos de Obregón gave an excellent description of the Spanish *tinelo* where he starved (Vicente Espinel, *El Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618, *Relación I, Descanso VIII*) but no better than before him Prudencio in Castillejo's *Diálogo y Discurso de la Vida de Corte*. (Castro's ed., Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxii, 221.) Torres Naharro also mentions the *tinelo* in the *Trophea*, II, l. 112 and V, l. 203.

of tongues, French and Latin, Valencian, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish.

In the first act, Barrabas, the *credenciero*,¹³ quarrels with his mistress, the *lavandera*,¹⁴ and sends her home placated with promises and gifts of food. He and the *escalco* begin to arrange for luncheon. The French cook *Metreianes* is instructed to set aside the best morsels for them and their friends, and the cook's shortcomings are discussed:¹⁵

Escalco. no es menester que le den
del aguijon al calcaño
Barrabas. o hideputa pues quien.
Escalco. voto a dios ques buen conpañ
Barrabas. no notais
las dos libras que le dais
que lleue donde sabeis?
quando vos alli no estais
voto a dios que toma seis

The *suelta* here continues with the following *copla*:

[a] Escalco. buen camino
tu donde tienes el tino
que no miras lo que toma?
Barrabas. no estaria alli contino
si me diessen toda Roma

They retire with Matia and amid lively discussion, to the room of Barrabas, where they feast on the fat of the land, before the regular luncheon hour.

¹³ 'Taster,' 'cup-bearer.'

¹⁴ This was not an unusual arrangement judging by Castillejo, an authority on *tinelos*. In his *Diálogo de las Condiciones de las mujeres* (*Poesías*, Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxii, 200) Aletio speaks of

... aquel tiempo que aun era
viva Isabel de Herrera
y Quartal el despensero,
su querido. . . .

The change made in these lines by Velasco, followed by Fernández, seems to have been inspired by the *Tinellaria*:

Viva la gran lavandera
y su amigo el despensero
Muy querido.

¹⁵ The text of the *princeps* is quoted from the original edition.

In the second act the less favored servants assemble in the *tinelo*, speaking their respective jargons and, at a reference to the levying of troops in Spain, all boasting of their respective countries. The *escudero* Moñiz and his *mozo* separate; Moñiz discusses with his colleague Godoy first the fare of the *tinelo*, then the rapid rise of the *maestro de casa*, the ruler of this agitated little world. The *escudero* Osorio joins them, first changing the subject to women, then to a request of his for ecclesiastical preferment which, as he boastingly says, is supported by the Spanish ambassador:

Osorio. Si que ya me a requerido
con que si quiero vna capa¹⁶
y aun si quiero otro partido
me asentara con el papa

The *suelta* here continues:

Moñiz. *compañero*
rengracialde por entero
si un buen Cardenal os diere

Osorio. *o con medicis si quiero*¹⁷

quel se es Papa. y quanto quiere [. . .]

Moñiz. *qual haria*
si yo tal brazo tenia
yo te iuro a dios hermano
no staria mas un dia
con monseñor Egiptiano

Osorio. *no digais*
que monseñor si mirais
sera Papa sin contrario

Godoy. *desse modo no os partais*
*que aureis un confessorario*¹⁸

¹⁶ Probably refers to the *cappa magna*, a non-liturgical vestment peculiar to the pope, cardinals and bishops, but which may also be worn by the chapters of certain important cathedrals.

¹⁷ Probably referring to the same *Monseñor de Medicis* alluded to in the Dedication of the *Tinellaria*, a cousin of Leo X, Giulio, later Pope Clement VII, at that time cardinal and one of the most influential men in the Curia. While his ability and industry have been acknowledged (Ranke, Roscoe) it has been denied that he became the pope's right-hand-man before 1516 or 1517. (Cf. Pastor, *Hist. of the popes*, ed. Kerr, VII (1913), 85, 87.) If that is so we must place the performances of the *Tinellaria* and its publication in 1516.

¹⁸ A parish.

- [c] Osorio. *que razon*
 Godoy. *y no veis pobre uaron*
que lo sta llamando dios
y ueis que Papa Leon
biuira mas quel y uos

In the third act they finally sit down at the common table. Grace is improvised and there develops a table-scene such as for vivacity and naturalness has not been matched on any stage. The fourth act brings the two highest officials of the *tinelo*, the *despensero* and the *maestro de casa* face to face. They quarrel over the division of the spoils. The *maestro de casa* refuses a request of Osorio for the exclusive use of a bedroom, and of Moñiz, a newcomer, for the lodging of his servant. The disgruntled *escuderos* are joined by Godoy who ruefully explains the situation to Moñiz, describing the *tinelo* as follows:

- Godoy. *del tintinabulo viene*
que quiere dezir campana
y os discierno
ques tinelo suegra y yerno
donde nunca falta engaño
y es semejança de infierno
quaresma de todo el año
se de ciencia
ques vna larga dolencia
para quien mal se gouierna
y un lugar de penitencia
y un traslado de tauerna
y es almenos
do no henchimos los senos
ni tampoco vamos flacos
vn enemigo de buenos
y vn triumpho de vellacos.

The *suelta* continues here:

- [d] *y he notado*
ques un pozo de cuydado
laborinto no fingido
tambien es mal deseado
y es un bien no conocido

- Moñiz. *si es ansi
para serviros de mi
por merced que me digais
que bien y mal tiene en si
pues bien y mal lo llamais
es por cierto
un gran bien con gran concierto
que hazen los Cardenales
y en el ay mal descubierto
que hazen los oficiales*
- Moñiz. (sic) *o gran mal
si esso haze el official
monsennor puede soffrillo?*
- Godoy. *no lo sabe el cardenal
y al hombre es mengua dezillo
y es de uer
que deuamos entender
en limpiamente biuir
que un bueno por el comer
no deue darse a sentir.*

In their common discouragement Moñiz and Godoy become friends and decide to live together, with Moñiz' servant Manchado for both. Manchado was one of that swarm of adventurers who thronged the houses of the princes of the Roman Catholic church, eager to serve even without pay in the hope of eventual preferment, and among whom the Spaniards were noted for their ambition.¹⁹ Manchado is very "green" still (*o que fresco y que temprano!*) and declares:

- Godoy. *vengo por vn beneficio
que me de que vista y coma
bien sera
pero quien os lo dara
que trabajos se requieren.*
- Manchado. *el papa dizque los da
a todos quantos los quieren*

¹⁹ Cf. Paolo Cortese, *De Cardinalatu*, Rome, 1610, fol. 54.

^{20a} The following passage will explain the jest (Rampin is showing the "Lozana Andaluza" the sights of Rome):

"Este es Campo de Flor, aquí es en medio de la cibdad; éstos son charlatanes, sacamuelas y gastapotras, que engañan á los villanos y á los que son nuevamente venidos, que aquí los llaman bisoños." *L.c.*, Mamotreto XV. The *Campo de Flor* was also the place where servants looking for work would congregate.

Godoy. con fauor
 haureis en campo de flor^{19a}
 vn par de canonicatos
 Manchado. mia fe no vengo señor
 a buscar canes ni gatos
 [e] que seruicios?
 para estar mas a mis uicios
 ya se yo duna presona
 que los buenos beneficios
 se dan en Torre de Nona.²⁰

The last act brings back the characters of the first act, about in time for supper. The *canavario*²¹ joins them, earning his welcome by a contribution of choice wines. The door is locked. An *arcediano* vainly tries to gain entrance, while his peculiarities are sharply discussed inside. A certain *abad*, his friend, is then taken to task, on account of his manner of dressing and his pride:

Escalco. cierto oy día
 ay hombres de fantasia
 que piensan ser de los godos²²

²⁰ Although some of these lines were well deleted, the trait of the greenhorn talking about the *beneficios* conferred in the *Torre de Nona* was not bad. The *Torre de Nona* was a prison, much frequented by courtesans (no doubt the kind of *presona* who told Manchado) and where the benefits took the shape of fines. In the *Lozana Andaluza* the *barrachelo* pursuing Rampin cries: "Espera, espera, español, no huyas, tómallo, y lléualo en Torre de Nona." (L.c., *Mamotreto* XXXI.) It was usually referred to in one breath with the Torre Sabela. When the "*vieille courtisane*" recalls her youth in the lines of Joachim du Bellay (who spent three years in Rome) the Torre de Nona is not forgotten:

"Je ne craignais d'aller sans ma patente,
 Car j'étais franche et de tribut exempté.
 Je n'avais peur d'un gouverneur fâcheux,
 D'un barisél, ni d'un sbire outrageux,
 Ni qu'en prison l'on retint ma personne,
 En court (*sic*) Savelle, ou bien en tour de Nonne . . ."

(*Divers Jeux rustiques et d'autres oeuvres poétiques de Joachim Du Bellay, angevin*. Paris, Frédéric Morel, 1558.)

²¹ The *Lozana Andaluza* (*Mamotreto* XII) explains this term as "*hostiller*" (O. French *bouteillier*), i.e., butler, servant in charge of the wine-cellar.

²² "Para encarecer la presuncion de algun vano," says Covarrubias, "le preguntamos, si deciende de la casta de los godos." The Bachiller de la Pradilla addressed Emperor Charles V as "*Sangre escogida de los godos*." (*Egloga Real*, 1517, ap. Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, p. 229.)

- y que esta la hidalguia
en sentarse sobre todos
[f] Matia. *yo he sentido*
que en toda Roma es tenido
por hombre de mal ceruelo
Escalco. *calla ques mas conocido*
*quel gobo del barrechelo.*²³

There is more drinking than eating, however, and the party soon degenerates into a drunken brawl, rendered with consummate skill. The play winds up, as usual, with a song, led by Matia, who would point the moral of the entertainment:

- veis señores
de aquestos ay mil traidores
si quereis poner las mentes
que gastan vuestros onores
y vosotros ignocentes
[g] *destos males*
cada dia ay muchos tales
por tanto no es marauilla
que en los males oficiales
esta el mal de la familia
por razon
que la nuestra prouision
es onesta y tal que basta
pero su destribucion
es aquella que la gasta

In Palau's *Santa Orosia* (ed. Fernández Guerra, II. 1012-13) it is said of Don Rodrigo:

"el rey viene de los godos,
que es un linaje excelente."

²³ "Better known than the hunchbacked provost." *gobo* = It. *gobbo*. Under *barichelo* we find:—"Voz Italiana que vale tanto como capitan de alguaciles y corchetes, o Alguacil mayor del campo." (*Diccion. de Autoridades*.) In Diego Núñez Alba's *Diálogos de la vida del soldado* (1552) ed. A. M. Fabié, Madrid, 1890, p. 66, Militio says:

"Por Dios que lo conozco que era allá *Barrachel* de campaña." —Cliterio: "Que oficio es ese?" —Militio: "Lo que dezimos en nuestra tierra alguazil del campo." The town-*barichelo*'s mission was to execute the governor's orders, capture offenders, witness executions and maintain order in town. In the *Auto de la degollacion de S. Juan* (Rouanet, *Colección de autos*, etc., II, 57) the executioner is addressed as "*Baruquel*."

honrra y vida
 vos la mande dios complida
 con renta que satisfaga
 la tinellaria es fornida
 valete y buena pro os haga.

Glimpses into a writer's workshop are nearly always interesting, but when the workshop is in the sixteenth century, and the workman Torres Naharro, the opportunity is exceptional. What the alterations made by Naharro imply with regard to his dramatic technique could be properly brought out only by a detailed study of his methods. Yet a few conclusions may readily be drawn. First, it may be significant that all the changes are omissions from the *suelta*, a fact which indicates at least a degree of self-criticism and discipline in a writer often guilty of verbosity. It seems likely that passages such as [a] and [d] have been dropped merely for the sake of conciseness. Cutting down the similes applied to the *tinelo* in [d] obviously lightens the dialogue. The dejected sententiousness of Godoy at the end of [d] is out of keeping with the character and sounds a subjective note all too often stressed in the *Propalladia*. A cumbrous the final speech with trite moralization.

In other cases the natural shift of circumstances between the date of the *suelta* and 1517 may have dictated certain changes, as in [b], where the influence of Giulio de Medicis is referred to. For [c] either the changed state of health of Leo X or of Giulio or perhaps a belated sense of delicacy may be presupposed. The passage [e] where Manchado shows his simplicity might have been fitly retained, but the line:

"para estar mas a mis uicios"

sounds too cynical for him, and so, we may surmise, lest the metrical structure be destroyed, the whole quintilla had to be sacrificed. The reference to the *abad*, friend of the *arcediano* [f], seems to be an attack on a personal enemy, one of the "*Mordaces*" mentioned by the author in the dedication, perhaps the one whom he threatened more specifically: "quiza le senalare la herradura en la frente." Circumstances, here again, may have modified Naharro's attitude.

The reasons for the changes made in the original version may then be summed up as follows, in the order of their importance: changing circumstances [*b, c, f*]; desire to avoid prolixity and unnecessary moralizing [*a, d, g*]; the needs of consistency [*d, e*]. With one exception [*e*] which may be partly attributed to metrical compulsion, all the changes may be considered improvements.

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JEALOUSY AS A DRAMATIC MOTIVE IN THE SPANISH 'COMEDIA'

AMONG the passions portrayed by Spanish dramatic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the fury of jealousy is conspicuous. It is a theme which, being closely related to the 'pundonor,' reflects the national temper of the Spaniard. "Jealous as a Spaniard" is a proverbial simile that finds ample justification in the 'comedia.'

"It is indeed a received maxim in their country as well as in their theatre," complains Lord Holland,¹ "that love cannot exist without jealousy." "Donde hay amor hay celos" declares Doña Hipólita in Guillén de Castro's *La Fuerza de la Costumbre*.² "Quien bien quiere, celos tiene" is a similar sentiment recognized on the early stage. In Lope de Vega's *La Dama Boba*, verse 1818, Otabio declares

que mientras ay amor ha de haber celos
pensión que dieron a este bien los cielos.

Rojas Zorrilla, in *Donde hay agravios hay celos*, Act III, scene xiv, asserts

. . . en el amor | hallan propiedad los celos.

In Act II, scene ii, of the same play, D. Juan says to Doña Inés:

Que para decir mi amor
Os digo que tengo celos.

In Calderón's *El mayor monstruo los celos* we have a noteworthy example of the struggle between love and jealousy. "*Son triunfo de amor los celos*" is a typical title of a play by Agosta y Faría. Tirso de Molina in his *Vergonzoso en palacio* says:

Ya han esmaltado los cielos
El oro de amor con celos (vv. 970-71).

¹ H. R. Lord Holland, *Some Account of the Lives and Writings of Lope de Vega Carpio and Guillén de Castro*, London, 1817.

² *Colección de Autores Españoles*, Rivadeneyra, editor, Madrid, 1881, vol. xliii, p. 365.

Just as jealousy is a concomitant of love, so jealousy often precedes and produces love. In Lope's *La Dama Boba* the power of jealousy makes a simpleton wise and clever and enamored. In his *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocuña*, Act II, scene v, Casilda warns

Que los desuelos son puertas
Para que pasen los celos
Desde el amor al temor;
Y, en comenzando a temer,
No hay más dormir que poner
Con celos remedio a amor.

In Mira de Mescua's *Esclauo del Demonio*, Leonor, talking to Beatriz, says, el amor de los hombres | resulta de celos y cuydados (v. 2213). Tirso de Molina says:

Y sé que dándome celos
La he de volver a adorar.

Jealousy destroys love. In *Las Burlas veras* Lope exclaims (p. 29, Rosenberg edition):

¡Quántos amores por zelos se han acabado!

Guillén de Castro, in *La tragedia por los celos*, makes Godín express the opinion that

Los amorosos desuelos
siempre para ser valientes
son hijos intercedentes
de la embidia y de los zelos (vv. 1049-1052).

Jealousy is often a stronger passion than love. "*Más pueden celos que amor*" is the title of one of Lope's comedias. A similar opinion is expressed by the Marqués de Ossera in a play of the same name.

That love and jealousy are not inseparable is expressed in the title of Maestro Cabeza's play entitled *Tambien hay sin amor celos*. Monroy goes even a step further by declaring that "No hay amor donde hay celos." It is true that jealousy exists where there is no affection, and is linked with the 'point of honor.' Situations involving the 'pundonor' almost invariably include some form of

jealousy. In Guillén de Castro's *Ingratitud por amor* (vv. 2040-2044) Artemisa says to the Duquesa:

Porque entretanto cuide
de tu honor y mis celos,
es bien que se junten
las dos obligaciones
y las dos pesadumbres.

* * * * *

Its close association with love and the 'pundonor' is not the chief reason, however, for the oft recurring use of the passion of jealousy by the Spanish dramatists. "They seem to regard jealousy as sufficient to explain any absurdity and warrant any outrage."³ 'All is fair in love and jealousy' is their version of the well-known proverb. The title of one of Arborea's plays is "*Engaños hay que son justos en lides de amor y celos.*" "No hay agravios como celos si son los celos ofensa," is the opinion of Don Fernando de Frías y Santos. In Castro's *La tragedia por los celos* the jealous queen, after murdering her rival in cold blood, tells the king:

Señor, no vengo a tus pies
a que mis culpas perdones
sino a que en mis zelos veas
que son las culpas menores (vv. 2528-2531).

In *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*, by Rojas, D. Juan says to Sancho:

¿Dí, qué ofensa puede ser,
Que a la de celos se iguale?

and Sancho replies: La del honor.—Dices bien, agrees D. Juan.

The public made due allowance for outrages committed in fits of jealousy, just as it tolerated and forgave crimes of vengeance for offended honor. It is true even at the present time and also in this country that jealousy nearly always is regarded as detracting from the criminality of the deeds which it prompts. Juries pardon no other kind of manslaughter more readily than the murders prompted by jealousy. Thus the very administration of justice seems to be motivated in part by jealousy.

* * * * *

³ H. R. Lord Holland, *op. cit.*

Various explanations have been offered for this exaltation of the mad jealousy and extreme susceptibility of Spanish honor. It is argued that this trait was communicated to the Spaniards by the Arabs. The Oriental woman was guarded by a jealous husband. Indulging only emotions of love and jealousy in their harems they seem in every other environment to forget the existence of the gentle sex. Therefore, according to Lewes,⁴ the custom of keeping the Spanish woman secluded from men's society was not the result of this influence. L. de Viel-Castel⁵ also ridicules the 'jealousy' theory of enforced seclusion, on the ground that the manners of the Spaniards are entirely opposed to those of the Arabs; the Spaniard's whole life is consecrated to gallantry.

Ticknor⁶ and J. L. Munárriz⁷ ascribe the Spanish seclusion of women to Gothic influence. Everything relating to domestic honor was consigned by Gothic law to domestic authority. With the possession of this prerogative every individual, particularly the male members of the family, was keenly on guard for offended honor in his immediate circle. This suspicious guardianship easily provoked and intensified the natural instinct of jealousy which, according to psychologists, is present in all mankind.

Stuart⁸ argues that the treatment of jealousy by Spanish writers was not necessarily a true reflection of an actual trait characteristic of Spaniards of their day, but was more probably a dramatic motive borrowed from the Italian novelists and playwrights, from whom the Spanish dramatists drew so much of their inspiration.

Américo Castro,⁹ Schack,¹⁰ Escosura,¹¹ Marchena¹² and Fitzmaurice-Kelly¹³ maintain that jealousy was a trait of the national character of Spain during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, but was not limited to Spain. It was a universal trait at

⁴ *Spanish Drama*, London, 1846.

⁵ *Revue des deux mondes*, vol. xxv, 1841, pp. 397-421.

⁶ Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, 1849, vol. ii, p. 363.

⁷ *Lecciones sobre la retórica*, Madrid, 1817, iv, p. 307.

⁸ *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. i, 1910.

⁹ *Revista de filología española*, tomo iii, 1915.

¹⁰ A. F. Schack, *Gesch. der dram. Litt. und Kunst in Spanien*, 1854, pp. 156-7.

¹¹ *Revista de España*, 1869, vi, pp. 171-210.

¹² *Hist. lit. esp.* (Span. trans.), 1847, ii, 200.

¹³ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 325.

that period, and may be explained as a perverted outcome of chivalresque ideals.

* * *

It is interesting to note the effect of jealousy upon the individual suffering from it. In Calderón's *El médico de su honra*, the husband is asked what he has seen, and he replies:

Nada. Que hombres como yo
no ven: basta que imaginen;
que sospechen, que prevengan,
que recelen, que adivinen . . .

Arez de la Mota entitles one of his plays "*Duelos y celos hacen los hombres necios*." It is an animal passion, easily aroused, and incompatible with reason. "No hay prudencia cuando hay celos." Calderón's characterization of jealousy is summed up in the titles of two of his many plays dealing with this passion, namely, *Los celos, aun del aire matan* and *El mayor monstruo los celos*.

The symptoms associated with jealousy are best described by Rojas Zorrilla in *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*, Act III, scene i:

Da. Inés: Mas ni me admiro, ni espanto,
Que celos hayas tenido.
Da. Ana: ¿De qué lo has colegido?
Da. Inés: De tu voz, y de tu llanto:
Porque en la amorosa calma
De sospechas y recelos
Son el amor y los celos
Las calenturas del alma
Que salen por dar despojos,
Reducidos en agravios,
Las de celos a los labios
Y las de amor a los ojos;
.....
Los celos buscan la voz
Y el amor elige el llanto.

Other characterizations are:

No hay flema donde hay celos—p. 36, *La fuerza de la costumbre*—
Castro.

¡Zelos traydores! (v. 2569), *Tragedia por los celos*, Castro.

¡Zelos piadosos! (v. 2570), *Tragedia por los celos*, Castro.

. . . que tus celos | infames como alevosos, Act II, scene vi, *Mayor monstruo los celos*, Calderón.

Muero de agravios y celos | que matan, Act II, scene v, *Mayor monstruo los celos*, Calderón.

Celos volemós allá | pues tenéis alas de fuego, vv. 974-975, Tirso de Molino, *El vergonzoso en palacio*.

Pues esta fortuna sigo | celos, sufrir y callar, Act I, scene xii, Rojas, *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*.

Quiero sufrir y callar | a, ingrata, de celos muero, vv. 1831-2, Mescua, *Esclavo del demonio*.

Perdona, que amor y celos | hacen errar la lengua, 3204-5, Mescua, EDD.

La inuidia me inhumana, v. 1274, Mescua, EDD.

Dichoso tú que | desdén y celos ignoras, v. 353, Mescua, EDD.

But it is not only limited to the torture of mind and agony of the heart evidenced by facial manifestations. Blood must be shed. Revenge must be taken, if immediate satisfaction be not offered, or the reparation of a wrong be impossible. *No hay con los celos más medio que vengarlos o no tenerlos*.¹⁴ Revenge is exercised for the same general reason that we desire restitution when we crave forgiveness on the one hand or exact apology on the other. Psychologists class it as a natural impulse of the normal man and woman, reflecting the tender as well as the aggressive sources. But with the Spaniards of the early *comedias* it is a disease, a passion of violence merging with revenge carried to excess. "*No hay valor contra los celos*" is a theory worked out with consistency. In Castro's *La tragedia por los celos*, v. 1567, the queen exclaims: Mis celos mortales son. In v. 2331 of the same play she remarks: Donde hay celos no hay piedad. In Calderón's *El mayor monstruo los celos*, Act III, scene viii, El Tetrarca declares:

Siendo monstruo sin segundo
Esta rabia, esta pasión
De celos, que celos son
El mayor monstruo del mundo.

¹⁴ An anonymous *zarzuela* in the Library of Osuna.

Jealousy was not confined to the female sex. The phrase "a jealous man" is much more frequently used by the Spaniards than "a jealous woman." Shakespeare and Molière also regarded men the more jealous sex, and their jealous characters are men as a rule. In Molière we have Don Garcie de Navarre and Sganarelle, and Shakespeare's jealous heroes are Othello, Leontes, Master, and Ford. Jealousy in a woman is taken for granted:

Soy zelosa, muger, soy, v. 1514, Lope, *Las burlas veras* (Rosenberg).

Son traydores | los zelos, y soy mujer, v. 987, Castro, *Traged. por los Celos*.

In woman jealousy is more strongly felt and exhibited than in man. "En mujeres hay venganza; y en su venganza castigo" is the title of an anonymous comedia. In Mira de Mescua's *Esclavo del Demonio*, vv. 1234-8, D. Gil remarks:

Hecho será que me asombre,
que a la muger nadie iguala
en zelo y piadoso nombre,
pero quando da en ser mala
es peor que el más mal hombre.

* * * * *

Jealousy as a theme in Spanish dramatic literature may be traced as far back as 1499, the date of *La Celestina*. We next meet it in the *Iminea* of Torres Naharro's *Propaladia*, published in 1517. Torres Naharro, incidentally, was the first Spanish dramatist to introduce the pundonor on the stage. About sixty years later it was treated by Juan de la Cueva in *El Infamador*. All the dramatists of the Siglo de Oro employ it generously. Calderón paints the terrible fury of jealousy with a grandeur which is unparalleled. Four of the most striking among Calderón's tragedies of jealousy are:

El pintor de su deshonra
El médico de su honra
A secreto agravio secreta venganza and
El mayor monstruo los celos.

In each of these terrible plays a wife guilty, or presumed so, suffers death at her husband's hands. The murderer is prompted by jealousy or wounded pride. In the opinion of Ticknor,¹⁶ *El mayor monstruo los celos* is the finest specimen of the effects of mere jealousy

and of the power with which Calderón could bring on the stage its terrible workings. It is the well-known story of the cruel jealousy of Herodes, Tetrarca de Galilea, who kills his wife Marienne because Octavius is in love with her. Jealousy figures also in other plays by Calderón, as, for example, in *La vida es sueño*, Act I, scene vi, when Estrella becomes jealous of Rosaura's portrait in Astolfo's possession; and in the *Alcalde de Zalamea*, when D. Mendo discovers the Captain serenading Isabel; and in *El mágico prodigioso*, when Floro and Lelio see the devil leaving Justina's room; but these situations are inconsequential to the main plot.

Second to Calderón in the use of jealousy as dramatic material is Guillén de Castro. In his *La tragedia por los celos* a queen murders her rival in cold blood, in a fit of jealousy. In his *Mocedades del Cid* there is the jealousy of the courtesans against Rodrigo. In *Los mal casados de Valencia* and in *La fuerza de la costumbre* Hipólita's jealousy is important to the dénouement. In *Ingratitud por amor* and in *El amor constante* there is the struggle between jealousy of the king and respect for the king's person.

* * * * *

In order to ascertain, as an item not devoid of significance, the extent to which the words *celos*, *celoso*, and *celosa* are used by early Spanish dramatists, I have tabulated the numerical occurrence of these words as they appear in ten plays selected at random. The results are as follows:

	Celos	Celoso	Celosa	Total
El Mayor Monstruo los Celos (Calderón).....	16	1	1	18
El Mágico Prodigioso (Calderón).....	20	3	0	23
La Vida Es Sueño (Calderón).....	3	0	0	3
Ingratitud por amor (Castro).....	7	1	6	14
La tragedia por los celos (Castro).....	25	1	2	28
La Dama Boba (Lope de Vega).....	11	0	2	13
Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña (Lope)....	9	2	0	11
Donde hay agravios no hay celos (Rojas).....	37	1	0	38
El Burlador de Sevilla (Tirso de Molina).....	8	0	1	9
El Vergonzoso en Palacio (Tirso de Molina)....	20	1	0	21
Totals.....	156	10	12	178

A large number of Spanish plays have the words *celos*, *celoso*, and *celosa* in their titles. This is not necessarily an indication that jealousy is the subject of the main theme of the play concerned, nor is its absence from a title evidence to the contrary.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 344.

However, it is interesting to find eighty such plays listed in Barrera's *Catálogo Bibliográfico y Biográfico del Teatro Antiguo Español*, Madrid, 1860.

Titles of plays containing the words *celos*, *celoso*, or *celosa*, selected from Barrera's *Catálogo*:

A averiguadas celos no hay prudencia.....	Anonymous
A lo que obligan los celos.....	Enriquez Gonez
Amor y celos sin dama, o el Domine de Alcaba....	Anonymous
Amor y celos hacen discretos.....	Tirso de Molina
Amor, enganoz y celos.....	Don Manuel
	Botello de Oliveyra
Amor secreto hasta celos.....	Lope
Amor vencido de celos.....	Arboreda
Arminda celosa.....	Lope
Casa de los celos y selvas de Ardenia.....	Cervantes
Casamiento con celos, y rey don Pedro de Aragon..	Bartolome de Enciso
Celos Abren los cielos.....	Dona Isabel Senorina de Silva
Celos, amor y venganza (No hay mal que por bien no venga).....	Luis Velez de Cueva
Celos, aun del aire, matan.....	Calderon
Celos, aun imaginados, conducen al precipicio y magico.....	Diego Triana
Celos contra los celos.....	Fernandez Bustamante
Celos de Carrizales.....	Antonio Coello
Celos de Rodamonte.....	Lope
Celos de Rodamonte.....	Bojas Zorrilla
Celos de San Jose.....	Monory
Los Celos en el Caballo.....	Zinienez de Enciso
Celos hacen estrellas, o el amor hace prodigios....	Luis Velez de Cueva
Celos hasta los cielos, y desdichada Estefania....	Luis Velez de Cueva
Celos, honor y cordura.....	Don Antonio Coello
Los celos hasta los cielos.....	Vilez de Guevara
Celosa de si misma.....	Padre Tellez
Celosa de su honra.....	Anonymous
Celos avara.....	Bago
Alos, industria y amor (Todo es industrias amor)..	Monroy
Celos no ofenden al sol.....	Enriquez Gomez
Celoso.....	Antonio Farreira
Celoso (El) o la Cena, Milan, 1602.....	Velaz guez de Velasco
Celoso Extremeño.....	Don Antonio Coello
Celoso Prudente.....	Tirso de Molina
Celoso y desesparado.....	Vicente Suarez de Deza
Celos y empenos de amor, o los Amantes celosos..	Anonymous
Celos satisfechos—Inedita?.....	Lope
Celos sin ocasion—Inedita?.....	Lope
Celos sin saber de quien.....	Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza
Celos son bien y ventura.....	Luis Velez de Guevara

- Celos son bien y ventura (San Albano).....Godinez
 Celos son bien y ventura.....Cervero
 Celos vencidos de amor, y de amor el mayor truino. Don Marcos de Lanuzi
 Como se curan los celos, y Orlando furioso—Zar-
 zuela con loa.....Candamo
 Como se enganan los celos—Don Manuel.....Daniel Delgado
 Con celos no hay amistad—Inedita.....Acuna de Mendoza
 Con celos no hay majestad, y cruellad con su
 Amante—Manoscrita.....Anaya y Espinosa
 Darse celos por vengarse.....Doctor don Cristobal Lagano
 El desengano en alos.....Jacinto Cordero
 Donde hay agravios no hay celos (El Amo criado). Rojas Zorrilla
 Dudoso en la venganza (Las Canas en el papel)...Don Guillem de Castro
 Duelos y celos hacen los hombres necios—Inedita..Arez de la Mota
 Enamorados celosos.....Anonymous
 Encanto por los celos, y fuente de la Judia.....Monroy
 Engano de unos celos.....Montero de Espinosa
 Esclavos de amor y celos.....Don Vicente Eximenez y Doris
 Guerras de celos y amor.....Don Matias de Ayala
 Haller la muerte en sus celos.....Pardo de la Casta
 Hechizo de amor los celos—Inedita.....Conto Pestana
 Infante de Aragon.....Claramonte
 Jacintos, (Los), y celoso de si mismo o la pastoral
 de Jacinto, y selva de Albania.....Lope
 Lances de amor, desden y celos.....Frumento
 Lena (La) o el Celoso—Milan, 1602.....Velazquez de Velasco
 Lo que pueden amor y celos.....Un ingenio (p. 24)
 Mayo encanto celos.....Anaya y Espinosa
 El Mayor Monstrue Los Celos.....Calderon
 No hay amor donde hay celos.....Monroy
 No siempre ofenden los celos.....Augulo y Carcano
 No son los recelos celos.....Gaspar de Aguilar
 Pastoral de los celos. Inedita.....Lope
 Que mas castigo que Celos? Inedita Senor Duran
 Segunda cuarta part del siglo XVIII.....Anonymous
 Quien bien quiere celos tiene.....Anonymous
 Renegado por celos. Inedita.....D. Diego Duque de Estrada
 Selva de Amor y celos.....Francisco Rops
 Tambien hay piedad con celos bajo el nombre ana-
 gramatico de don Garcia Azner Velez.....D. Andres Gonzalez de Barcia
 Tambien hay piedad sin celos.....Luis Velez de Guevara
 Tambien hay sin amor celos.....Maestro Cabeza
 Tambien sin envidia hay celos.....D. Baltasar de Funes
 Villalpando
 Tener de si mismo celos.....Marti
 Tirso's El Celoso Prudente copied by Calderón in
 his A secreto agravio secreta venganza.....
 Triunfo y error de los celos y el amor.....Zarzuela, Madrid, 1726, 80

HYMEN ALPERN

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SOME OF THE LATIN SOURCES OF YVAIN

IN spite of the diversity and number of studies on the sources of Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain*, we are still in the greatest perplexity in regard to this subject. So far are scholars from any agreement that Maurice Wilmotte¹ recently favored the old, discarded theory of the *Widow of Ephesus* as the source of the kernel of *Yvain*, a theory long cherished by Foerster,² strongly combatted by Professor A. C. L. Brown,³ and finally given up by Foerster in favor of the view of Hilka,⁴ Van Hamel,⁵ and Voretzsch⁶ that Chrétien was influenced at this point by the *Roman de Thèbes*. Foerster maintained that the whole episode of Laudine's marriage with Yvain was based on the incident of Jocaste's marriage with the slayer of her former husband.⁷

The inadequacy of this theory was pointed out by Zenker,⁸ who believes that the opposite is true; namely, that a hypothetical version of the *Yvain* earlier than that of Chrétien is the source of the Jocaste episode in *Thèbes*.

Foerster suggests as the main source of *Yvain* a tale of the rescuing of a maiden from a giant; but he denies that there is any trace of Celtic influence on the main episode,⁹—viz., that dealing with the relations of Laudine and Yvain—and admits only slight Celtic influence (manifested merely as extraneous additions) on any part of the story. Professor Brown, however, whose articles are ranged at the opposite pole in this discussion, suggests for almost

¹ *Romania* xlv (1920), 1 ff.

² *Der Löwenritter*, Halle, 1887, xxii-xxiv.

³ "Iwain, A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance," *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1903.

⁴ Alfons Hilka, *Die direkte Rede als stilistisches Kunstmittel in den Romanen des Kristian von Troyes*, 1903, 128, n. 1.

⁵ "Jocaste-Laudine," *Rom. Forsch.*, xxiii (1907), 911 ff.

⁶ *Einführung in das Studium der altfr. Litteratur*², 1913, 321.

⁷ Wendelin Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch*, Halle, 1914, 107.

⁸ Rudolf Zenker, "Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZfSS* xli (1913), 147. Professor Sheldon objects to the Jocaste episode as a source for Chrétien's *Yvain* on account of the motif of incest (*ROM. REV.*, xii, 305).

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 106 ff., where his earlier discussions are indicated.

every incident of Chrétien's romance a parallel in a Celtic fairy-mistress story of the type of the *Serlige Conchulaind* (Sick-Bed of Cuchulinn).¹⁰

The present status of the problem evidently leaves room for considerable further discussion.

The object of this study is to present certain striking parallels between the main themes of Chrétien's romance and some passages in the works of Ovid and Virgil. This comparison will at least indicate the possibility that Chrétien used his knowledge of the Latin classics to aid him in shaping and adapting whatever Celtic or other material he may have chosen to use in constructing the romance of *Yvain*.

It is becoming more and more clear, as the study of mediæval French romance progresses, that at the origin of even those poems known as Arthurian romances there was effected an amalgamation

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*; also "The Knight of the Lion," *PMLA* xx (1905), 673 ff.; "Chrétien's Yvain," *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1911-12), 109 ff.; and "On the Independent Character of the Welsh Owain," *ROM. REV.* iii (1912), 143 ff.

Many other suggestions have been made in regard to the source of *Yvain*, among which is that of Christian Rauch (*Die walsche, französische und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iweinsage*, Berlin, 1869), who regarded the story as originally Celtic, although he considered Chrétien's version independent of the Welsh *Owein* and *Lunet*. Heinrich Goosens (*Ueber Sage, Quelle und Komposition des Chevalier du Lyon des Crestien de Troyes*, Diss., Paderborn, 1883) believes that Chrétien's poem was based on an oral tale recounted by Celtic story-tellers at French courts. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, 1888, 334-5) considered Laudine a fairy and compared the main theme of *Yvain* to that of *Guingamor*, etc., in which the husband of a fairy departs with the intention of returning, but forgets a promise and so is not allowed to return. Axel Ahlstrom ("Sur l'origine du Chevalier au lion," *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à C. Wahlund*, Macon, 1896) believes that Laudine was a swan-lady. Baist, "Die Quellen des Yvain," *ZrP* xxi (1897), 402-5, preferred to call her a "Wasserfrau." W. A. Nitze, "A New Source of the Yvain," *Mod. Phil.*, iii (1905-6), 267 ff., and "The Fountain Defended," *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1911-12), 109 ff., connects the main episode of this romance with a possible folk-story embodying the theme of the Arician Diana myth, which he believes was known in the Poitou region. This tale, according to Professor Nitze, may have been amalgamated with a Celtic story in Chrétien's immediate source. Franz Settegast (*ZrP*, XXXII, 416 ff.; *Die Antiken Elemente im altfranzösischen Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1907, 60 ff.; *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfr. Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1917, 62 ff.) suggests historical, Byzantine sources, also the Cybele-Attis and Polyphemos legends. Rudolf Zenker (*Forschungen zur Artusepik I, Ivainstudien*, Halle, 1921) claims that Chrétien's romance represents the fifth stage of a story originally of the Irish Cuchulinn cycle.

of Classical themes with Celtic material.¹¹ Nevertheless, the great reputation of Chrétien among his contemporaries and followers inclines the writer to look upon that French poet as the author who made the distinctive combinations represented by his romances, whatever may have been the immediate or ultimate sources of his material. The small variations in details that have been noted between Chrétien's poems and other versions of the same stories do not seem to offer convincing evidence that Chrétien's romances as literary entities go back to sources common to them and to the tales of other authors. Such variations, however, may point to common sources for certain episodes to be found in Chrétien's poems and in the works of others.

In attempting to justify the claim that Classical sources contributed a part of Chrétien's literary inspiration one should be guided by three considerations: (1) the development of literary history in general at the time, (2) the statements—if there are any—of the author himself, and (3) internal evidence such as the nature, content, and language of the romance in question.

Chrétien de Troyes wrote in the third quarter of the twelfth century. His literary activity especially marks the moment of an unusual advance in the literature of the vernacular:

"Avec le roman, on entre dans une voie d'observation psychologique qui, à peine dessinée chez la foule des auteurs médiocres, devient presque une virtuosité chez Benoit, chez Gautier d'Arras, et chez Chrétien de Troyes. Sa technique, sa rhétorique, son vers, ses développements d'ordre psychologique, un instinct déjà sûr de la vie intérieure, bref tout ce qui le fait lui-même à nos yeux, ce n'est pas à l'épopée qu'il le doit."¹²

This remarkable achievement of French writers at the middle of the twelfth century is no doubt due in part to improved social conditions in the North of France. In this advance, Provençal influences were, certainly, a factor. The great impetus afforded to literature and learning in general at this time, however, is due to the

¹¹ The present study leaves aside any consideration of the extent or importance of the Celtic material used in the romance of *Yvain*.

¹² Maurice Wilmotte, "L'Évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1903.

Classical Renaissance that was at its greatest height in this century.¹³

Evidence of intimate acquaintance with the Classics is furnished in abundance by those who wrote in Latin during this period. Guibert de Nogent, who lived in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, makes, in his history of the first crusade, the following very interesting observation:¹⁴ "Et villas video, urbes, ac oppida studiis fervere grammaticae." In another place he states that during his lifetime and under his own observation there has grown up in France a remarkable interest in grammar, which is here taken in the sense of the "art of explaining poets and historians, the art of correct speaking and writing."¹⁵ The fame of Classical studies at Chartres in Guibert's day and later at Orléans, the greatest center of Latin learning after 1150, drew students even from England.¹⁶ The fame of the study of Classical authors at Orléans is also attested in numerous other places. For example, Paetow¹⁷ cites Geoffrey de Vinsauf:

In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum

.

Aurelianis

Educatur in cunis auctorum lacte tenellos

and Helinand, in a sermon before the students of the university of Toulouse in 1229: "Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisiis artes liberales, Aurelianis auctores . . ."; also Mathew of Vendôme:

"Parisiis logicam sibi iactitet, Aurelianis
Auctores: elegos Vindocinense solum."

¹³ Cf. L. J. Paetow, "The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric," *The University Studies*, University of Illinois, iii (Jan. 1910), 7, II; Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913, 398 ff.; and H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, London, 1914, 143.

¹⁴ "Gesta Dei per Francos" in *Recueil des Historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, iv, 118; cited by Paetow, *op. cit.*, 12.

¹⁵ This is the definition of Rabanus Maurus. Cf. F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1885, 86.

¹⁶ Cf. Paetow, *op. cit.*, 92. On Chartres see Abbé A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1895. On Orléans see L. V. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, viii (1869), 139-54.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 14.

The pages of such Latin writers as John of Salisbury and Pierre de Blois are filled with quotations from the Latin Classics. The attitude of these scholars is shown by John of Salisbury's assertion: "otium sine litteris mors est, et vivi hominis sepultra,"¹⁸ and by Pierre de Blois's answer to the *cornificii* who blamed him for his imitation of profane writers: "Quidquid canes oblatrent, quidquid grunniunt sues, ego semper aemulabor scripta veterum: in his erit occupatio mea."¹⁹ The most famous passage of this nature is that attributed by John of Salisbury to Bernard of Chartres:

"Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos, gigantium humeris incidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantes."²⁰

The realization of the literary importance of the enthusiastic revival of the Latin Classics during the twelfth century leads one to look to those Classics for possible sources of literary inspiration. The appearance of such romances as *Thèbes*, *Enéas*, and *Troie* about the middle of the twelfth century tends to confirm the student in this attitude of mind, since the mediaeval French romances of the group dealing with the *matière de Rome* are based directly on Latin models. It has already been asserted by Edmond Faral²¹ that all the romances of the period with which we are dealing belong to one *genre*, which began as a slight surface eddy in the vernacular corresponding to a deep and strong current in Latin literature of the same period. According to Faral, with whom his erudite reviewer is in

¹⁸ Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxcix, 388; copied from Seneca, *Epistolae*, lxxxii, 3.

¹⁹ "Epistolae," 92, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, ccvii, 290.

²⁰ Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxcix, 900.

The importance of the Classics in French civilization of this time can be ascertained by means of a great number of remarkable studies. A few among this great store are: Manitius, "Geschichte der lat. lit. des Mittelalters" in Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xi, 1911; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship from the sixth Century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1903-8; for Virgil: Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* translated by E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895; for Ovid: Léopold Sudre, *Ovidii Metamorphoseon libros quomodo nostrates medii aevi poetae imitati interpretatique sint*, Diss., Paris, 1893; Gaston Paris, "Chrétien Legouais et autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide," *Hist. Litt.*, xxix, 455 ff.; and Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, Avant-propos and 391 ff.

complete accord,²² the romances are not the fruit of spontaneous inspiration nor of the imagination of ignorant story-tellers; but, rather, of a literary tradition reaching back into Classical antiquity. The imitation of Ovid furnished, in his opinion, the main elements in the formation of the romances—even of the Arthurian romance.

It must be added that shortly before the middle of the twelfth century Geoffrey of Monmouth made of the legendary Arthur, who was a Celtic hero, a literary personage, the fame of whose imaginary court spread over the civilized European world. In Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae*²³ is to be found the name of our hero, Yvain, there appearing as Eventus, son of Urian. Geoffrey's work was several times translated. The most important of the French translations of this work is that of Wace.²⁴ Wace tells us that many stories concerning Arthur were told in his time and known to him.²⁵

In the work of Geoffrey, in that of Wace, or in the stories about Arthur mentioned by Wace, we might expect to find the source of *Yvain* or some elements of inspiration for that romance. As a matter of fact, from Geoffrey, directly or indirectly, came not only the name of the hero but also the Arthurian setting,²⁶ and perhaps the episode of Harpin of the Mountain.²⁷

²² Maurice Wilmotte, *Romania*, xliii (1914), 107 ff.

²³ Ed. by San Marte, Halle, 1854, xi, 1.

²⁴ Ed. by Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836-8.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, 10038 ff.

²⁶ Cf. Annette B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troyes*, Menasha, Wis., 1913.

²⁷ Franz Settegast (*Das Polyphemmärchen in altfr. Gedichten. Eine folkloristisch-literargeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Leipzig, 1917) connects this episode (pp. 62 ff.) with the Polyphemus legend. However sound the conclusions of Professor Settegast may be, it seems likely that the immediate suggestion for the Harpin episode came to Chrétien from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (x, 3). Although Chrétien's story has every appearance of being mainly original, it seems to be an application of an adventure formerly told of Arthur to one of his knights. In both cases we have a giant living on a mountain, who pursues the niece of an Arthurian hero who is defeated by an Arthurian hero, and whose fall is described by means of the same Classical simile (*Yvain*, 3852 ff.). An interesting point in this connection is Chrétien's objection to Geoffrey of Monmouth's idea that a hero should keep his deeds secret ("Precept (Arthur) in-tuentibus fieri silentium"), for Yvain says to the lord of the castle:

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Qu'il voloît que si quatre fil
Et sa fille praignent le nain,
S'aillent a mon seignor Gauvain,
Quant il savront qu'il iert venuz,
Et comant il s'est contenuz
Viaut que il soit dit et conté.
Car por neant fet la bonté,
Qui ne viaut qu'ele soit seüe.

The fountain is supposed by some scholars to have been taken from Wace's *Rou*.²⁸

From a general consideration of the period in which Chrétien lived it is apparent that although literary influences were coming into the north of France from the Orient, from Provence, and from Celtic territory, yet the chief interest of writers of the twelfth century Renaissance was in the Classical literary tradition.

Turning to Chrétien himself for guidance we are immediately directed to the source of his main literary inspiration, the Latin Classics, and his words cannot fail to convince us that he was one of the great leaders in the Renaissance. He tells us that Knighthood and the sum of Learning came from Greece to Rome, and that it has been passed on from Rome to France, where it is now to be found. This statement can only mean that insofar as learning and literature are concerned—for they are really one in Chrétien's mind—France owes her culture, in the opinion of our poet, to Rome:

Cligès, 33 Puis vint chevalerie a Rome
 Et de la clergie la some,
 Qui ore est an France venue.

Chrétien rated his own work with that of the greatest authors of Greece and Rome; and knew no literature of worth except that of Classical Latin times—and by report that of the ancient Greeks—other than the literature of France in his own time:

Cligès, 36 Des doint qu'ele i soit retenue
 Et que li leus li abelisse
 Tant que ja mes de France n'isse
 L'enors qui s'i est arestee.
 Des l'avoit as autres prestee,
 Mes des Grezois ne des Romains
 Ne dit an mes ne plus ne mains;
 D'aus est la parole remese
 Et estainte la vive brese.

This statement shows that Chrétien considered the literature of his own day equal to that of the Greeks and Romans and that he expected French poets to excel all predecessors. No one can doubt

²⁸ This parallel was first pointed out by Baist (*ZrP* xxi (1897), 402-5), who discovered a verbal borrowing on the part of Chrétien.

that he looked upon himself as the greatest poet of his age. In a much earlier work he had boasted of the immortality of his poetry:

Erec et Enide, 23 Des or comancerai l'estoire
 Qui toz jorz mes iert an memoire
 Tant con durra crestientez;
 De ce s'est Crestiens vantez.

With our knowledge of the authority of the Classics in the Middle Ages and of the extent to which they were used as models in the schools, we cannot fail to interpret correctly the words of this conscious poet who wrote for the fame of his work in his own time and in all future ages. His ambition was to carry forward the torch of culture and learning that had been handed on to him and his contemporaries by the ancient Romans. To the Romans, then, we must expect him to turn especially for literary inspiration.

As a matter of fact, Chrétien knew Latin well, for he translated various works of Ovid; and the romances beginning with *Cligès* show a clear and strong influence from Ovid on the love treatment, on the style, and also on some of the *motifs* and episodes.²⁰

Yvain, upon whatever original story the romance is grafted, is, when looked at from the point of view of its artistic conception in its main outlines, a poem embodying essentially an Ovidian love intrigue wherein a servant in the intimate confidence of her mistress aids the hero in obtaining the love of the heroine. This intrigue is double, since the lady is twice won through the same agency. It is this unbroken thread that holds the various episodes of the loosely constructed romance together like a string of beads. In this romance the love passion is portrayed in a manner learned from Ovid, with the enumeration of the same physical and mental effects of love, a similar psychological analysis of love, long love monologues in the manner of Ovid, the treatment of love as a disease and also as a science to be taught and learned, and the use of particular terms, metaphors, and similes all in the manner of Ovid. There are several episodes in *Yvain* unquestionably based on suggestions from Ovid, such as the funeral at which Yvain falls in love with Laudine, the scene of attempted suicide at the fountain, and the burning of the evil counsellors as a just punishment for their attempt to torture

²⁰ Cf. my "Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes," *ROM. REV.*, xii (1921), 97-134 and 216-247.

Lunete at the stake. Moreover, a number of passages are copied directly from Ovid. I have treated this influence of Ovid in detail in the study already referred to above, and the data need not be repeated here.

Yvain, in comparison with the other works of Chrétien, has often, and rightly, been looked upon as a counterpart to *Erec*.³⁰ The theme of *Erec* is uxoriousness and its effects on Erec and Enide. And it is precisely in connection with this theme that *Yvain* offers a contrast to *Erec*.³¹ The theme of uxoriousness may well be the starting point for our study of *Yvain*. It will be admitted that Chrétien is consciously returning to the problem of *Erec* in the romance of the *Chevalier au lion*. I have shown elsewhere³² that when he wrote *Erec* Chrétien had not come, insofar as his love-treatment is concerned, under the influence of Ovid. In *Erec* we have the Virgilian attitude toward the theme of uxoriousness.³³ Love diverts the hero's attention momentarily from deeds of valor; but Erec (as well as the author) places personal honor above everything in the world—even above love. For a time Erec is slothful; but Enide, too, places valor and glory above happiness, and misfortune results—a quarrel ensues. Enide is the chief sufferer. Her love is tested in the midst of hardship.

This whole treatment of a love situation is entirely out of keeping with Chrétien's later manner after he had become infatuated with the Ovidian love doctrine. It is natural that our poet should have wished to treat the theme of *Erec* again, and according to his system of courtly love. Everything must then be reversed. The lover must be the slave of a haughty mistress and he must suffer on account of his love. In *Yvain*, as in Ovid, love is preëminent. Momentarily the hero's attention becomes absorbed by deeds of valor and for a time he forgets his love. Misfortune follows and the chief sufferer is Yvain. In neither romance is the break complete

³⁰ See especially Foerster, *Wtb.*, 123; *Yvain*⁴, 1912, xvii.

³¹ The analogy of these two works on the basis of the theme of uxoriousness has been pointed out by Professor Nitze (*Mod. Phil.* xi (1914), 457-8; also in *ROM. REV.* x (1919), 34) and by Professor Ogle (*ROM. REV.* ix (1918), 11).

³² *Op. cit.*, esp. 232 ff.

³³ It has even been suggested by Professor Ogle that the uxorious theme of *Erec* may have been taken by Chrétien from Virgil's *Aeneid* (*ROM. REV.* ix, 1918, 18).

or lasting. Just as Enide's love had to be tested in *Erec*, so here Yvain's love for Laudine is severely tested before he can regain the favor of his lady.

The faithful, modest Enide would scarcely serve the purpose of a romance like *Yvain*. The changeable Laudine is better suited to the situation.

With the theme of uxoriousness is mingled that of the changeable widow. If the story of the *Widow of Ephesus* is not the source of the kernel of *Yvain*, then some other story of a changeable widow must have been. This widow must be loved by an uxorious hero who will be drawn away from her by deeds of arms, thus causing misfortune and unhappiness. The present writer knows of only one such story; that story is a Latin Classic, the greatest masterpiece of the literature of the Romans, a work that had more influence on Mediaeval literature than any other, a work, in fact, to which every indication points as a probable source of *Yvain* whether we consider the trend of literary movement at the middle of the twelfth century, the training, interests, and inclination of the author, or the themes involved in the work itself—the Dido story of Virgil's *Aeneid*.³⁴ Being thus directed to a source having the required elements, it remains for us to compare with great care *Yvain* with Virgil's *Aeneid* in order to determine whether there is any striking similarity of detail between the two works.

An analysis of *Yvain* shows that it contains, first, a long exposition (1-1172) which cleverly acquaints us with the *dramatis personae* and brings up the action to the critical situation. This introduction includes the narration by Calogrenant of his disastrous adventure at the fountain. The story is told at the court of King Arthur. This device, according to Chrétien's custom, connects the story with Arthur's court, thus gaining immediately the interest of the twelfth century reader; for Arthurian stories enjoyed, in Chrétien's day, and particularly through our author's own literary successes, the greatest vogue. Yvain, a well-known knight of Arthur's court and a cousin of Calogrenant, determines to undertake the same adventure in order to avenge his cousin's defeat, and thereby becomes the hero. The exposition carefully prepares us for later de-

³⁴ Dido was constant in her love for Aeneas, faithless, however, toward Sichaeus.

velopments by informing us that Arthur intends to attempt this adventure with a following of knights on St. John's day. Then follow the secret departure of Yvain in advance of all the others; the description of his interesting search for the marvellous spring; the exciting encounter with the red knight, Esclados; the defeat and flight of the red knight; Yvain's imprisonment between the two falling doors, which creates great suspense on account of the danger of the situation; the appearance of Lunete; the assistance that she gives the hero; and, finally, the passing of Laudine in the funeral procession of the dead Esclados le Ros. By now all the important characters of the romance are known to us and the main plot can be developed.

This main plot consists of the winning, losing, and rewinning of Laudine by Yvain. The action receives its initial impulse when Yvain first sees Laudine, beautiful even in the midst of her mourning. He is wounded through the eyes deep in the heart by Cupid's arrow. A complicated situation has arisen, since the hero now desires the love of the widow of the knight whom he has just killed. The problem is solved by remarkable psychological handling. Now King Arthur and Gauvain arrive to carry on the action and to help create a new dramatic crisis. This crisis occurs when, having departed with Gauvain, who has persuaded him not to rest in slothful idleness and the dalliance of love but to win glory in knightly combats, Yvain forgets to return to Laudine at the end of the allotted time and is refused the privilege of returning at all. Between the despair and consequent madness of Yvain and the second winning of Laudine is inserted a series of adventures covering over 4000 lines (2773-6818)—adventures individually interesting, but almost entirely beclouding the main theme. This series, in turn, is cut in two by the return of Yvain to Laudine's court, where he fights in defense of Lunete. When his victory in this combat restores Lunete to Laudine's favor we hope to see a like good fortune for the hero. But since Yvain is forced to suffer still longer and to go out to meet further trials in knightly prowess, this incident serves as a sort of tragic climax to heighten the interest and to keep the attention of the reader fixed on the central theme to the end of the poem. This series of adventures is not entirely useless. Its justification as a

part of the plot lies in the effect that it produces of long suffering on the part of the lover, who seems to be forced to pass through almost interminable hardships in the service of love.

The final reconciliation is ostensibly effected by a trick. Laudine needs a defender for her fountain. Lunete recommends the Knight of the Lion and, before bringing Yvain to her mistress, she makes Laudine promise to do everything in her power to restore the unknown knight to the good graces of his lady. Although Laudine discovers that the Knight of the Lion is none other than Yvain, she makes peace with him in order not to break her promise. All this intriguing of Lunete is so thinly veiled, however, that we doubt whether Laudine was deceived. Chrétien has here for the second time taken us gradually through the stages necessary to bring about a graceful change of mind on the part of his heroine.

Turning to the *Aeneid* we find that, insofar as the characters and the main features of the plot are concerned, it offers an analogue²⁵ for *Yvain* as follows:

Misfortune casts the hero (Aeneas, Yvain) into a strange land where his life is in danger. He meets a kindly disposed person (Venus, disguised as Diana; Lunete, whose name suggests Diana and who is compared to the moon by Chrétien), who helps him through the time of danger and is of great assistance to him in winning the love of the lady of the land. The hero is rendered invisible (by means of a cloud, ring) until he is safe within the city. Venus confers with Jupiter, who consents to have Dido receive Aeneas hospitably; in addition she employs the strategy of substituting Cupid for Ascanius; and Cupid wounds Dido with his arrows. Lunete uses devices and persuasion of her own invention to win for Yvain the love of Laudine. The lady of the land mourns a dead husband (Sichaeus, Esclados le Ros). There is a *confidante* (Anna, Lunete) who urges the lady to marry the hero, using similar arguments in each story; namely, that the lady must not waste her youth and beauty in weeping, and that she needs a defender for her realm—especially against a certain person (Pygmalion, Arthur) who has threatened to come to the attack of the place and is actually making preparations:

²⁵ Cf. W. A. Nitze, "The Romance of Erec Son of Lac," *Mod. Phil.*, xi (1914), 14, note 1.

Aeneis, IV, 31 Anna refert: "O luce magis dilecta sorori,
Solane perpetua mœrens carpere iuventa?
Nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?
Hinc Getulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
Et Numidae infreni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis:
Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes
Barcae. Quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam,
Germanique minas?"

Yvain, 1614 "Mes or dites, si ne vos griet,
Vostre terre qui deffandra,
Quant li rois Artus i vandra,
Qui doit venir l'autre semaine."

1666 "Ha, dame, est ce ore avenant,
Que si de duel vos ociëz?"

The lady claims to prefer to share her former husband's tomb rather than to marry again:

Aeneis, IV, 24 "Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam,
Ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua jura resolvo!
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores
Abstulit: ille habeat secum, servetque sepulcro."

Yvain, 1602 "Nenil," fet ele, "mes mon vuel
Seroie je morte d'enui."
"Por quoi?"—"Por aler après lui."

And yet both ladies change their minds and give their love to their new lovers. Both Virgil and Chrétien comment on the changeableness of women—Virgil in terms that have ever since been proverbial:

Aeneis, IV, 569 . . . "varium et mutabile semper
Femina."

Yvain, 1436 Que fame a plus de mil corages³⁰
Celui corage qu'ele a ore,
Espoir changera ele ancore,—
Ainz le changera sanz "espoir."
and 1749 Es vos ja la dame changiee.

³⁰ This particular line is probably borrowed from Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I, 755.
. . . Sed sunt diversa puellis
Pectora, mille animos excipe mille modis.

Both lovers seem inclined to devote themselves entirely to their love; but soon they are awakened from their sloth (by Mercury, Gauvain) and, leaving their mistresses, they go forth to deeds of valor. The break causes deep suffering and the lady refuses to forgive.³⁷ Aeneas finds a second love, but Yvain, like Erec, returns to his first mistress.

The *Aeneid*, with its theme of the uxorious hero, its widow who protests her unflinching loyalty to her dead husband only to turn to another lover immediately, and the famous Virgilian phrase, "varium et mutabile semper femina," seems to have furnished the themes and, to some extent, the outline for the kernel of Chrétien's romance.

Laudine has no personality. She is nothing more than a personification of Virgil's phrase in regard to the changeable nature of woman; for she appears first stricken with grief (1173 ff.), tearing her hair and beating her breast in a truly classical manner, loud in her protestations of love for her late husband; then we see her receiving the friendly sympathy and listening to the advice of Lunete (1589 ff.), but refusing to accept that advice even though she realizes that it is good (1640 ff.), pretending to be vexed and dismissing her companion (1645 ff.), recognizing her mistake when alone (1654 ff.), ready to listen again (1663), asking advice (1679 ff.) and promising not to become angry (1685), breaking her promise and insulting Lunete (1710 ff.), worrying all night and changing her mind about accepting Lunete's advice (1734 ff.), realizing the loyalty of her friend and repenting of her harshness (1749 ff.), casting off her grief and the memory of the dead husband (1773 ff.), deciding to marry Yvain (1816 ff.), now unable to wait (1821 ff.), pretending to love Yvain dearly (2556 ff.), indulgently consenting to his departure (2562 ff.), claiming to have awaited his return with anxiety, but, since Yvain has overstayed his term, becoming imperious and resentful, refusing to allow him to return and thus driving him to madness (2742 ff.), but, later, allowing Lunete to persuade her to receive Yvain back again (6576 ff.). Such is the varying nature of this woman.

There are two other passages in *Yvain* that recall in a general way lines from the *Aeneid*. Both Laudine and Dido were ac-

³⁷ Cf. the meeting of Aeneas and Dido in the other world (V, 450 ff.).

quainted with the fame and ancestry of the hero concerned and comment thereon:

Aeneis, IV, 565 "Quis genus Aeneasdum, quis Trojae nesciat urbem?"

Yvain, 1815 "Comant a non?"—"Mes sire Yvains."
 "Par foi, cist n'est mie vilains,
 Ainz est mout frans, je le sai bien,
 Si est fiz au roi Urien."

The following words of Dido:

Aeneis, IV, 10 "Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes!
 Quem sese ore ferens! quam forti pectore et
 armis!
 Credo equidem (nec vana fides) genus esse
 deorum.
 Degeneres animos timor arguit. Heu! quibus ille
 Jactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!"

are, perhaps, reflected somewhat in the following by Lunete:

Yvain, 998 "N'est mie prodon, qui trop dote.
 Por ce cuit que prodon soiez,
 Que n'estes pas trop esmaiez."

The comparison of Gauvain to the sun (2400 ff.) may have been suggested by that of Aeneas to Apollo (IV, 143 ff.). The language is closer, however, to Ovid's in his comparison of Augustus to the sun (*Tristia* II, 323 ff.).⁸⁸ Doubtless Chrétien knew both the Virgilian and the Ovidian passage and was influenced by both in his choice of the simile. The association of Gauvain, whom he calls the sun, and Lunete, whom he names for the first time at this point in the story (2414), stating that she is named after the moon, may have led Chrétien to choose the name Lunete. He may have been influenced in this matter by the disguise of Venus, to whom Lunete is in some respects similar, as Diana at her appearance before Aeneas just without the city of Carthage. At least the name reveals its Classical origin and its association with the comparison of Gauvain to the sun is significant.

The French mediaeval poets make their stories over to suit the ideas and taste of their time. This is particularly true of Chrétien. One must expect the elements of Virgil's *Aeneid* to be completely

⁸⁸ Cf. *ROM. REV.* xii (1921), 130.

transformed in *Yvain*. The situations are heightened in their dramatic interest and varied by combination with new elements. The solution of the main problem is different because of differences (1) in the genre (change from epic to romance) of the work itself, (2) in the estimation of moral and social values on the part of the two poets, and (3) in the importance given to the themes under our consideration by them (in Virgil the Dido episode forms but a small part of the whole epic—it is, in fact, a subordinate episode used as a temporary reversal of the hero's fortune—whereas in Chrétien's epic its counterpart is the central episode and the whole story is built around the love of Yvain for Laudine).

The theory here presented will gain in probability if it can be shown further how Chrétien effected so great a transformation in the use of the Dido episode as the kernel of his romance.

Dido did not remarry immediately after the death of Sichaeus, nor did she marry the slayer of her former husband. These elements were either original with Chrétien or they were borrowed from other sources. They do not embarrass the present theory which suggests the amalgamation of Classical and popular elements in the romance of *Yvain*, nor is their introduction at all strange to the student of Old French romance; for the usual method in those stories was to use a number of episodes out of older tales but in new combinations. Many such episodes are woven together in various romances in numberless variations. Chrétien calls *Erec et Enide* a "mout bele conjointure"; that is, a literary combination,³⁹ thus furnishing an authoritative model and perhaps inventing the Old French romance.⁴⁰ *Cligès* is a combination of a mediaeval Latin tale with elements from the story of *Tristan and Isolt*, from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ovid, and other sources.⁴¹

An important element in the shaping of the plot of *Yvain* was Ovid's suggestion:

Ars III, 431 Funere saepe viri vir quaeritur : isse solitis
Crinibus et fletus non tenuisse decet.

³⁹ Cf. *Romania*, XLIV (1915), 16, n. 1, for the meaning of this word.

⁴⁰ The whole question of the chronology of Old French romances is involved in this statement. There are reasons for believing that *Erec* is older than *Thibès*. The present author will present these reasons in another place.

⁴¹ Cf. *ROM. REV.* (1921), 220 ff.

If this passage and the following lines of the *Ars amatoria* are read with care, their significance for our study will appear. After having suggested that a widow may find a new husband at the funeral of the first, Ovid goes on to warn women against deceivers who go about making love but proving themselves faithless. Ovid illustrates his remarks by examples taken from Classical legends. He mentions Theseus and Demophoon who win the love of Ariadne and of Phyllis only to prove themselves untrue. Obviously the story of Aeneas and Dido would furnish as good an example.

Here Chrétien very probably found an indication of a new story by the juxtaposition of these two ideas in the *Ars amatoria*: a story of a widow who wins a second husband at the funeral of the first, but only to have that new husband prove faithless. Chrétien used exactly this method in the episode of Alixandre and Soredamors in *Cligès*.⁴² There he conceived his plot on the basis of lines in Ovid, *Amores* I, 2. First the question and answer:

Cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?
Cedamus!

then the suggestions following as to what would happen in the way of torment to the person who does not yield. Chrétien took the torment and inserted it between the inception of love in the breasts of his lovers and the final yielding to love supplementing the indications offered in *Amores* I, 2 by other themes taken from other parts of Ovid's works. In the same way in *Yvain*, he has taken suggestions from Ovid for the beginning and end of a story, with others for the body of the story following, and used them thus except that the Dido story, which was not indicated by Ovid but which is similar to the indications that he does give, is substituted. In fact, the actual plan followed by Chrétien is the insertion of a story like the Aeneas and Dido episode between the funeral of Laudine's former husband and the quarrel between Laudine and Yvain. At this point in Chrétien's story Laudine's messenger cries out against Yvain in terms similar to Ovid's warning to women against deceivers:

Ars III, 433 Sed vitate viros cultum formaque professors,
Quique suas ponunt in statione comas.

⁴² Cf. my "Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes," *ROM. REV.* (1921), 102 ff. and 222 ff.

Quae vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis:
Errat et in nulla sede moratur amor.

Sunt qui mendaci specie grassentur amoris,
Perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant.

Forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille
Fur sit et uratur vestis amore tuae.

Parcite, Cecropides, iuranti credere Theseo:
Quos faciet testis, fecit et ante, deos;
Et tibi, Demophon, Thesei criminis heres,
Phyllide decepta nulla relictā fides.

Yvain, 2716

Si dist que sa dame salue
Le roi et mon seignor Gauvain
Et toz les autres fors Yvain,
Le desleal, le traïtor,
Le mancongier, le jangleor,
Qui l'a leissiee et deceüe.
"Bien a sa jangle aperceüe,
Qui se faisoit vrais amerre,
S'estoit faus et traître et lerre.
Ma dame a cist lerre soduïte,
Qui n'estoit de nul mal recuite,
Ne ne cuidoit pas a nul fuer,
Qu'il li deüst anbler son cuer.
Cil n'anblent pas les cuers, qui aiment,
Si a teus, qui larrons les claimment,
Qui an amor vont faunoiant
Et si n'an sevent tant ne quant."

Laudine's messenger, in making her complaint against Yvain, also speaks of the term agreed upon for his return to Laudine, states that lovers count the days while the loved one is away, that Laudine has counted them and therefore does not complain too soon. Now it is hardly likely to be fortuitous that these three elements of the term agreed upon, the counting of the days by the deserted woman as all lovers count, and the remark that the lady does not complain before the end of the term are all present in Ovid's own account of one of the illustrative tales of faithless lovers to which he refers in giving his warning to women against deceivers in the *Heroides*; namely, the story of Demophoon and Phyllis.

Her. II, 1

Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodopeia, Phyllis
Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror.
Cornua cum lunae pleno semel orbe coissent,

Litoribus nostris ancora pacta tuaest :
 Luna quater latuit, toto quater orbe recrevit,
 Nec vehit Actaeas Sithonis unda rates.
 Tempora si numeres, quae nos numeramus amantes,
 Non venit ante suam nostra querela diem ;

Yvain, 2742 Mes Yvain a ma dame morte ;
 Qu'ele cuidoit qu'il li gardast
 Son cuer et si li raportast
 Einçois que fust passez li anz.

.
 Jusqu'a la feste saint Jehan
 Te dona ele de respit,

Car qui aime, est an grant porpans,
 N'onques ne puet prandre buen some,
 Mes tote nuit conte et assome
 Les jorz qui viennent et qui vont.
 Sez tu come li amant font ?
 Content le tens et la saison.
 N'est pas venue sanz reison
 Sa complainte ne devant jor,

Since the man is to suffer rather than the lady and since it is in the nature of the love portrayed by Chrétien in this romance that the lady should be imperious and the man obedient to her every wish, no other explanation is needed for Yvain's despair and inability to go back to his mistress until she consents.

Our study seems to warrant the conclusion that Chrétien was probably aided in his conception of the plan of *Yvain*—a romance treating a theme similar to that of *Erec et Enide*—by suggestions from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and that into the plan thus conceived Chrétien cleverly fitted the story of a changeable widow and an uxorious hero possibly based on the story of Dido and Aeneas, that Virgil may have thus offered the source of the kernel of *Yvain*, or, if not so, that the Virgilian story was undoubtedly in Chrétien's mind and at least served to help in the transformation of Chrétien's source to his own needs, and that these themes were elaborated by means of Ovidian love theories to form a counterpart to *Erec*—a romance written in Chrétien's early manner, previous to his infatuation with Ovidian love doctrine—and finally that the whole was cast into the mould of a Mediaeval French romance and amalgamated with Chrétien's Celtic material.

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THE ITALIAN SOURCE OF ANTONIO SCOPPA'S THEORY ON FRENCH VERSIFICATION

THE study of comparative Romance versification takes its origin with the work of Antonio Scoppa, entitled *Les vrais principes de la versification*, in three volumes, which were published from 1811 to 1814.¹ Scoppa has always been considered as the first to treat the problem of French verse from a scientific standpoint,² and almost all works dealing with the system of French versification take Scoppa's book for a starting-point,³ no matter whether or not they approve of the theories established in the *Vrais principes*.

At the same time, it has not always been certain whether the learned Abbé deserved all the credit given him, and doubts have repeatedly been expressed as to his originality. It is, above all, an Italian work which has been supposed to be the real source⁴ of the *Vrais principes*: a book of Giovenale Sacchi, published in Milan in 1770 and entitled *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo, e nella poesia*. However, no comparative study has been made as yet to prove or disprove this dependency of Scoppa on an Italian model, and to determine this is the object of the present article.

For our purposes only the third part of Sacchi's treatise is of importance. It is divided into five chapters. In the first, entitled *Della pronunzia delle moderne lingue*, the author develops his theory of the various meanings of the word 'accent.' He gives a definition of the conception implied by the Italian word *accento*, distinguishing between (1) the *accento che significa la parola, o qualsivoglia suono, che l'uomo metta, e sia indizio degli AFFETTI che lo commuovono*; (2) the *accento che significa IL MODO DI PARLARE d'una nazione*, and (3) the *accento che è UNA SILLABA, che in ciascuna parola è all'orecchio di chi ode più sensibile di tutte le altre ch'essa parola*.

¹ Antonio Scoppa, *Les vrais principes de la versification développés par un examen comparatif entre la langue italienne et la française*, Paris, Courcier, 1811-14.

² Gustav Gröber, *Geschichte der romanischen Philologie*, Gröbers Grundriss, 12, Strassburg, 1904-6, pp. 59 and 86.

³ Hugo P. Thieme, *Essai sur l'histoire du vers français*, Paris, 1916, p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 238.

compongono, that is to say, the syllabic stress, which Sacchi considers the basis of modern versification—of Italian as well as of other languages—and in the course of his work he uses the word *accento* to denote this specific kind of accent (pp. 60–62).

The same method of procedure is adopted by Scoppa, with the difference that the latter distinguishes between *eight* kinds of accent, among which figure the three mentioned by Sacchi and which Scoppa designates by the names of *accent pathétique*, *national* and *grammatical*. The verses of Dante and Petrarch quoted by Sacchi to show what he means by the second of the three have been taken over word for word by Scoppa, and the whole passage is nothing but a translation and an amplification of the Italian. Cf. *Vrais principes*, I, 61–63.

Sacchi goes on to distinguish two kinds of word accents, which he calls *accento di rinforzo* and *accento di produzione*. He defines the former as follows:

“in tanto vincono le compagne col loro suono, in quanto in esse la voce di chi parla si dimora un poco più lungamente,”

and the latter:

“non propriamente ci si rendono più notabili, perchè in quelle si dimori la voce più che nelle altre; ma perchè vi si fa più gagliarda con un certo subito impeto; e così danno all'orecchio di chi ode una percossa maggiore, e più viva, simile a quella, che sentir ci fanno nella Musica quelle note, che Martellate si chiamano” (pp. 62–63).

Scoppa observes the same distinction, taking over the Italian used by Sacchi, and transcribing the rather diffuse definitions of Sacchi in still more diffused French (*V. p.*, I, 77–78).

Sacchi tries to disprove the theory that accent consists in a difference of pitch (pp. 63–66). Scoppa follows him in this demonstration (*V. p.*, I, 68).

The Italian writer attacks Jean Jacques Rousseau on account of his statement that the French language lacks accent (p. 66), an attack which is taken up by Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 86–87).

According to the syllable of a word upon which the stress accent falls, Sacchi distinguishes between *parole tronche*, *piane*, *sdruciole*, and *più che sdruciole* (p. 66), a system of classification adopted by the author of the *Vrais principes*, in which we find incorporated the

examples used by Sacchi to illustrate his theory (*V. p.*, I, 74-75).

The part of the Italian treatise dealing with the qualities of each of the different classes of words (pp. 66-67) is translated almost literally by Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 76-77). The same is true of Sacchi's distinction between *accento di rinforzo* and *accento di produzione*, treated here in greater detail (pp. 67-68), and found nearly word for word in Scoppa's work (*V. p.*, I, 77-78).

The Italian writer treats the influence of the four classes of words on the structure of the verse and establishes the rule that the syllables following the last accent of a line of verse must not be considered in the counting of syllables—a rule which is of greatest importance for Romance versification (p. 68). His argumentation is taken up by Scoppa, who again translates and amplifies the Italian text (*V. p.*, I, 166-168).

Next, Sacchi discusses the effect of composition and de-composition of words on the word accent (pp. 68-70), and the conditions under which a word may lose its accent in the interior of a stressed group (p. 70). The same subject is treated by Scoppa, again with the same lack of independent thought (*V. p.*, I, 69-73).

Sacchi proves that the theory developed by him holds good not only for his mother tongue, but for other languages as well, quoting from Gottsched,⁵ Altieri,⁶ and Caramuele⁷ to show its correctness for German, English, and Spanish (pp. 70-72). The argumentation is found literally, including the quotations, in the *Vrais principes*, I, 89-90.

The following sections of Sacchi's treatise are devoted to applying the same theory to the French language (pp. 72-73). What Scoppa says on this subject (*V. p.*, I, 84-120) is but an amplification of the Italian. What he brings out independently of Sacchi is the fact that French differs from Italian in the large number of *parole tronche*, that is, words with masculine ending, while in Italian the *parole piane*, words with feminine ending, prevail (*V. p.*, I, 99);

⁵ He calls Gottsched's work the *Maestro alemanno*; as the quotation is very short, it is impossible to say from which of the critical works of that author it was taken.

⁶ Sacchi gives neither title nor page reference.

⁷ From the *Calamus Secundus Campaniae*. No page reference given. Cf. on this writer: A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 494.

that modern French completely lacks the *parole sdrucchiole*, in which Italian abounds (*ibid.*, p. 102), and the consequences of these differences for the harmony of both languages. Scoppa, likewise independently of Sacchi, establishes the rule that the nearer the accent stands to the end of the stressed group, the stronger it becomes (*ibid.*, p. 93).

Sacchi concludes his chapter with a praise of the Italian *favella* and an admonition addressed to his countrymen to cultivate their language. Scoppa follows his model also in this, only that he praises the French language on every occasion, putting it above the Italian.

The second chapter of Sacchi's treatise (pp. 76-114) bears the title *Della pronunzia delle lingue antiche*. In the first section, Sacchi gives an outline of the theory commonly adopted as to the system of ancient prosody: that it was exclusively based on quantity, the difference between long and short syllables being so great that it was easily noticed by the ear, and the whole system being so entirely different from that of the modern languages that it is impossible to imitate in any of them the ancient metrical forms of verse. He adds that he considers this theory as perfectly erroneous, and that according to him ancient versification was based upon the same principle as that of the modern languages, that is, upon the "word accent."

He divides his arguments into two groups. In the first he supports his opinion by quotations from authorities: Cicero and Quintilian. In the second he relies on purely rational arguments. It is strange, he says, that all languages, however widely they differ in all other points, should agree in that their versification is based upon the "word accent" and that only Greek and Latin should have adhered to a different system, unknown in any of the modern languages. The ancient terms of acute and grave accent, he goes on to say, do not allow any inference as to a different system of pronunciation and intonation. The works of the Classics, though read with modern intonation, still sound perfectly harmonious, which would be impossible if they were based on a different system of intonation; consequently, the ancient and modern systems must be identical, that is, both must be based on the word accent. The

system of quantity would require a constant rapidity of speech, preventing the ancients from sometimes speaking more rapidly, sometimes more slowly, as we do. This, Scoppa declares, is contrary to human nature and therefore impossible. He denies there having been a difference between long and short syllables great enough to be clearly perceptible to the ear, and he alleges the well-known fact that not only popular, but also literary, poets of antiquity made mistakes in quantity, quoting a passage from the *Ars poetica* of Horace. Then he tries to show that two texts, from Saint Augustine⁸ and Cicero,⁹ frequently quoted by grammarians in favor of their theory of quantity, prove nothing, the first tending rather to support his, Sacchi's, theory of the word accent, the other referring to music, not to speech. Not being able to deny altogether the existence of a certain difference in quantity in Latin, the author tries to prove that this difference was of the same nature as that found in the modern languages, where long and short syllables are still distinguished to a certain extent, though this distinction does not serve as a basis for prosody.

The title of the second chapter of the *Vrais principes* (I, 131-154) is a literal translation from the Italian. It reads: *De la prononciation des langues anciennes*. His arguments are in large part translated from the Italian. Like Sacchi, he divides them into two groups: such as are based upon authorities, and such as depend upon reason alone. The quotations are identical with those of Sacchi.

The third chapter of Sacchi's treatise (pp. 114-119), bearing the title *Del Piede poetico, del Metro, e del Ritmo*, starts with a definition of the terms foot, metre, and rhythm. The author identifies the poetical foot with the musical measure, *battuta*, distinguishing four fundamental kinds: iambus, trochee, anapest, and dactyl, the "word accent" taking the place of the long syllables. The metre he defines as a combination of two feet of the same character. According to the four kinds of feet, four rhythms exist. To support this theory of identity between the poetical foot and the musical *battuta*, Sacchi quotes from Saint Augustine and Quintilian.

This chapter of the Italian treatise is translated literally into French by Antonio Scoppa, the third subdivision of the fourth

⁸ From *De arte grammatica*.

⁹ From *De Oratore*.

chapter of the *Vrais principes* being entitled *Du pied poétique, du mètre et du rythme*.¹⁰

Chapter IV of Sacchi's work, entitled *Teoria universale della versificazione*, begins with a classification of the systems of versification. He mentions three main groups as established by previous critics: the *genere metrico*, the *genere armonico*, and the *genere ritmico*, the first comprising Greek and Latin, the second the modern systems of versification. About the third, the Italian makes only vague and rather misleading statements, evidently because he knew very little about it. After discussing various comparisons made before his time between ancient and modern systems of versification, Sacchi considers the different kinds of verse. He establishes three feet to be the minimum, five feet to be the maximum of length of a verse line. The alexandrine he considers as a compound verse, composed of two independent verses of three feet each. Having distinguished four groups of rhythms and shown that a verse can have only three, four, or five feet, he concludes that there exist only twelve different groups of verses, according to the number of feet and the kind of rhythm. He adds that all of them can have one feminine syllable more after the last accent (pp. 119-126).

Scoppa, translating for the most part literally as usual, entitles the second part of his work *Théorie de la versification*. Omitting the distinction between the *genere metrico*, the *genere armonico*, and the *genere ritmico*, he at once begins discussing the different kinds of verse, copying the system of Sacchi, translating and amplifying, as is his wont (*V. p.*, I, 243-250).

In the following section, Sacchi tries to prove that the ancient iambic trimeter is identical with the Italian *endecasillabo sdrucciolo*, and that the hexameter consists of only five feet, not of six (pp. 126-132).

His argumentation is found in the *Vrais principes* in almost literal translation, including the quotations from Catullus, Sannazaro, and Maurus Terentianus (pp. 250-254).

Sacchi goes on to examine each of the twelve groups of verse he had established (pp. 132-153). Especially noteworthy is his section xli, where he treats the imitation of ancient metres in the

¹⁰ In the first and second subdivision, Scoppa gives an outline of Sacchi's treatise *Della divisione del tempo nella musica*.

modern languages, the possibility of which is but a consequence of his theory.

Scoppa's exposition of the same subject (*V. p.*, I, 289-431) differs from that of his model in that he discusses at length also the short verses, consisting of less than three feet, and which, according to Sacchi, are no verses at all and therefore only slightly touched upon (pp. 255-289). In his discussion of the regular verses, Scoppa follows an order different from that of his model. While Sacchi considers (1) verses of iambic rhythm with three, four, and five feet, (2) the same three classes of verses with trochaic rhythm, (3) those with dactylic, and (4) those with anapestic rhythm, Scoppa treats the common Romance verses in their natural order, beginning with the six-syllable and ending with the ten-syllable verse. Each of his chapters is again subdivided into three parts, the first dealing with the Italian, the second with the French, and the third with the ancient verses. As far as the first and the third are concerned, he follows his model closely, transcribing Sacchi's theories and taking over his examples and illustrations, sometimes slightly increasing their number by additions of his own. For the second parts he is more independent. Not finding French quotations in the Italian treatise, he had to take the trouble of collecting them himself from among the French Classical poets: Racine, Voltaire, J. B. Rousseau, and others. Rather independent of Sacchi is his chapter on the alexandrine (*V. p.*, I, 299-330), though it is entirely based on Sacchi's theory of this verse being composed of two verses of three feet each. Scoppa's Article VII (*V. p.*, I, 417-431), treating the question of the imitation of ancient hexameters and pentameters in the modern languages, is but a translation and an amplification of Sacchi's disquisitions on the same subject (pp. 147-153).

On pp. 153-157 of the Italian treatise we find a discussion of the possibilities of mingling different kinds of verse in one poetic unit, the rules to be observed and the combinations to be preferred. Sacchi establishes the rules that

- (1) only verses of the same rhythm should be mingled,
- (2) that verses which can be divided into two equal parts, such as the eight-syllable verse, should not be combined with such as are composed of two unequal parts. He also insists upon the difference

between the ten-syllable verse with stressed fourth or sixth syllable, which he calls *endecasillabo eroico*, and the ten-syllable verse with stressed fifth syllable, which he calls *endecasillabo Rolliano*.¹¹

The same discussion is found in Article IV of chapter III of the *Vrais principes* (I, pp. 512-519). The examples are again taken from Sacchi's treatise.

In section xlv, Sacchi brings out the fact that the Italians prefer the rising rhythm, iambus and anapest, to the falling rhythm, trochee and dactyl. Scoppa repeats this statement (*V. p.*, I, 407-408).

Section xlv treats the alexandrine, numerous passages of which have likewise been taken over by Scoppa.

Section xlvi deals with the short verses; it forms the nucleus of Scoppa's detailed account of this subject.

Chapter V of Sacchi's work bears the title *D'alcune difficoltà, che contro l'esposto sistema si potrebbero muovere. Della rima, e dell'Esametro eroico*. The critic refutes some of the objections which might be raised against his theory and tries to explain some of the apparent inconsistencies it contains (pp. 162-170). Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 223-234) takes up the same objections and refutations, translating them literally in parts.

In his discussions of rhyme, Sacchi is far from insisting upon the necessity of rhyme in poetry, but on the other hand considers unjustifiable the attacks made against rhyme by various critics. Scoppa, in his article entitled *De la rime et des vers libres* (pp. 477-511), assumes precisely the same attitude.

Sacchi shows that the mere fact that the ancients did not use rhyme does not prove anything against its fitness for the modern languages, the whole character of the two groups of languages, ancient and modern, being so entirely different. Scoppa translates a good part of this argumentation.

In the following three sections (pp. 173-186), Sacchi takes up once more and in greater detail the problems connected with the heroic verse, contending that the Italian ten-syllable verse is as fit for epic poetry as the ancient hexameter, and even more fitted to be set to music than the Greek metre.

¹¹ Sacchi was ignorant of the fact that this verse is an old Romance verse occurring in Old French, Provençal, and Spanish poetry. He believed it to have been "invented" by the Italian Paolo Rolli, in the eighteenth century.

Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 393-395 and 417-431) translates whole passages of this discussion, adding examples of his own and extending Sacchi's observations to the French language.

In the concluding section, Sacchi reiterates the main purpose of his treatise, which is to establish rules that must be observed by any poet writing verse with the object in view of having it set to music.

Recapitulating what has been said in the foregoing chapters, we may state that practically the whole third part of Sacchi's treatise has been absorbed in the compilation of Scoppa. It forms the basis for Scoppa's system; what the latter adds of his own are but insignificant amplifications. Sacchi proposed his theory for all languages, ancient and modern, Romance and Teutonic, but exemplified it only for Greek, Latin, and Italian. Scoppa's merit consists solely in having brought in a few modifications required by the character of the French language, and of having undergone the trouble of selecting examples from among the French Classical poets.

This does not mean that Sacchi was his only source; though it is extremely probable that he was his only Italian source. From the quotations found in the *Vrais principes*, we may see that Scoppa was familiar with the whole of French critical literature and repeatedly drew on it. To adduce just one example: Scoppa's treatment of the different meanings of the word accent has been taken over almost literally from the work of D'Olivet, entitled *Traité de la prosodie française*.¹² But these borrowings represent merely accessory details. The idea that the "word accent" is the true basis of all systems of versification, ancient and modern, did not originate with Scoppa, but was adopted by him from the work of Giovenale Sacchi. Scoppa has little more than the merit of a vulgarizer, who skilfully adapted Sacchi's theory to the French language.

Another and far graver question, as it reflects upon the moral character of the Abbé, is that of his good faith in compiling his work. Truly, he quotes Sacchi very frequently, giving him credit and praising him highly for his theory; yet only in a few places does he actually state that he is transcribing Sacchi's ideas. He translates whole passages from the Italian without ever mentioning that fact. Aside from the reproach implied in such a statement, it is

¹² Cf. *V. p.*, I, 61, and D'Olivet, p. 257; *V. p.*, I, 63, and D'Olivet, p. 258.

certainly a proof of the intellectual barrenness of a man, if he is unable to clothe his ideas in his own words, but is compelled to translate word for word from another language.

What is surprising is that at the time of the publication of the *Vrais Principes* no one noticed that it was little more than a plagiarism. Sacchi's work seems to have been almost unknown in France. In this statement, however, lies at the same time a justification, however small, of Scoppa's treatise, and something of a merit after all. It may safely be said that without his compilation Sacchi's work would always have been unknown to the French critics. For this reason, Scoppa will always keep his place in the History of French versification.

In the following part of this study examples of the borrowings made by Scoppa from Sacchi's treatise will be shown in parallel columns. The passages which Scoppa acknowledged to have been transcribed from the Italian have not been considered, the purpose of this work being primarily to show Scoppa's dependence on his Italian model in places where he claims originality or received credit for such.

Sacchi, p. 60

La voce Accento, la quale in diverse significazioni si suol prendere, alcune volte significa la parola, o qualsivoglia suono, che l'uomo metta, e sia indizio degli affetti, che lo commuovono: laonde presso l'Aldighieri leggiamo: Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira; e presso il Petrarca:
Posto hai silenzio a' più soavi

accenti,

Che mai s'udiro

Scoppa, I, 61-62

Le mot accent offre plusieurs significations. . . . L'accent pathétique est une espèce particulière de l'accent oratoire: c'est l'accent des passions; il donne plus d'expressions aux différens mouvemens des passions dont le coeur est ému; il s'énonce non seulement par les mots, mais aussi par de simples sons, variés et différemment nuancés selon la différence des passions et de leur intensité: on sent par là les tons de la voix s'affaiblir ou se fortifier, s'enfler ou se rétrécir, s'adoucir ou s'aigrir. Chaque passion a son accent: c'est dans ce sens que Dante dit: Lacrine di dolore, accenti d'ira, et Pétrarca:

Posto hai silenzio a' più soavi

accenti

Che mai s'udiro

Sacchi, p. 76

Se noi vogliamo prestar fede ai Gramatici, la pronunzia degli antichi Greci e Latini era diversa affatto, e dissimilissima da quella di tutte le lingue, che nel Mondo si parlano a dì nostri. Gli accenti, che in parlando da quelli si usavano, erano a lor parere di tutt'altra natura, che i nostri non sono. Dalla varia distanza, ed ordinata posizione dei medesimi punto non dipendeva in quelle lingue il numero poetico, ed oratorio, siccome appresso di noi. Questo finalmente in altro non consisteva, che nella quantità delle sillabe ora brevi, ora lunghe, che le une alle altre con certo, e determinato ordine succedevano . . . , che il vero suono degli antichi esametri, e pentametri è perito, e che somiglianti versi in nessuna delle lingue viventi si porrebbero comporre.

Sacchi, p. 77

Due sono per così dire i principali fonti, dai quali si posson trarre valevoli, ed opportuni argomenti per toglier via ogni quistione, allor che trattasi di alcun fatto, il qual sia dubbio. Il primo è quello della autorità di celebri, e dotti Scrittori, che nulla possano ignorare di ciò, che ad esso appartiene; l'altro è quello della ragione, la qual ci mostri ciò, che dovette pur essere necessariamente, o che almeno è più verisimile, e più facile a credersi.

Sacchi, p. 78

Consideri chi legge le recitate parole, e vedrà senza dubbio, che esse apertamente confermano la similitudine de' moderni accenti cogli antichi, la quale io difendo.

Scoppa, I, 131

Ces recherches choquent ouvertement l'opinion généralement reçue des grammairiens, qui ne doutent point que la prononciation des anciens Grecs et Latins n'ait été très-différente de la nôtre: et qui soutiennent que leurs accens étaient aussi d'une toute autre nature; que le nombre poétique et oratoire ne dépendait point de leur arrangement; que la versification grecque et latine était uniquement fondée sur la combinaison des longues et des brèves . . . , et qu'enfin le véritable son des vers hexamètres et pentamètres est inconnu chez les modernes, et qu'on ne saurait imiter ces sortes de vers dans les langues vivantes.

Scoppa, I, 133

Soit que l'on consulte la raison, soit que l'on veuille s'en tenir à l'autorité des anciens, tout semble favoriser l'opinion de cet illustre littérateur—Sacchi.

Scoppa, I, 134

On ne saurait mieux prouver la ressemblance parfaite de l'accent aigu ou tonique des langues italienne et française avec celui de la langue latine.

P. S. ZAMPIÈRE

VOLTAIRE'S INTRODUCTION OF THE SPELLING *ai* IN
SUCH WORDS AS *français*

FROM contemporary evidence it seems clear that the general belief is correct that Voltaire was the first writer to substitute *ai* for *oi* in such words as *français*; but apparently the brief history of the innovation has never been recorded. It is true that Voltaire was not the first to suggest the change, which had been proposed as early as 1675 by Nicolas Berain in his *Nouvelles remarques sur la langue française*.¹ Voltaire's leadership, however, in introducing the new spelling is shown by Marmontel, who says in his preface to the 1746 edition of the *Henriade*:

"Il ne me reste plus qu'un mot à dire sur l'orthographe qu'on a suivie dans cette édition; c'est celle de l'auteur; il l'a justifiée lui-même: et puisqu'il n'a contre lui qu'un usage condamné par ceux même qui le suivent, il paraît assez inutile de prouver qu'il a eu raison de s'en écarter."

Again, in the de Kehl edition of Voltaire's works, published a few years after his death (1784-1789), the editors remark:

"Il entreprit le premier d'accorder l'orthographe avec la prononciation, et fit voir le ridicule d'écrire le peuple *français* comme saint *François*. Plusieurs écrivains ont senti la justesse de ses observations et ont adopté son système."²

The new spelling appeared for the first time in the 1736 edition of *Zaïre* and is justified as follows by Voltaire in the "avertissement":³

"On a imprimé *Français* par un *a*, et on usera ainsi dans la nouvelle édition de la *Henriade*. Il faut en tout conformer à l'usage, et écrire autant qu'on peut comme on prononce; il serait ridicule de dire en vers, les *François* et les *Anglois*, puisqu'en prose tout le monde prononce *Français*."

¹ Kr. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, vol. i, pp. 178, 179.

² Note on Epître I, A Monseigneur, Fils unique de Louis XIV.

³ Nyrop, however, appears to be mistaken in stating that the new spelling was first used in the 1732 edition of *Zaïre*. See the note of Beuchot in his edition of Voltaire: "Cet Avertissement ne se trouve que dans l'édition de 1736."

The striking quality of the innovation is shown further by a letter to Berger dated April 5, 1736:

"Je lui ai envoyé [à Bauche] il y a quinze jours *Zaïre* corrigée, pour en faire une nouvelle édition. Ce sera peut-être lui que vous choisirez pour l'édition de la *Henriade*; mais c'est à condition qu'il imprimera toujours *Français* par un *a* et non par un *o*."

The first prose work in which Voltaire used the new spelling was *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, published in 1752.⁴

Doubtless a trace of the old pronunciation still lingered in the speech of purists, for the letter to Berger already quoted says: "Il n'y a que l'Académie qui prononce le nom de notre nation comme celui du fondateur des capucins." But that this pronunciation had been practically superseded is shown by Voltaire's invariable argument in advocating the change, namely, that spelling should conform to pronunciation. "L'écriture," he says, in his article "Orthographe" in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*, "est la peinture de la voix: plus elle est ressemblante, meilleure elle est."

The subject is one to which Voltaire reverts frequently in his critiques, letters, and prefaces. His most complete discussion of the point is found in the article on the letter "A" in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*. Here he assembles the arguments and illustrations reiterated elsewhere in detached form. The article originally appeared in 1770, in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, and, as the opening sentence indicates, the reform had already made some progress:

"On commence à substituer la lettre *a* à la lettre *o* dans *français*, *française*, *anglais*, *anglaise* et dans tous les imparfaits, comme *il employait*, *il octroyait*. . . . La raison n'en est-elle pas évidente? Ne faut-il pas écrire comme on parle autant qu'on le peut? . . . Comme la coutume vicieuse de rimer pour les yeux et non pas pour les oreilles s'était introduite parmi nous, les poètes se crurent obligés de faire rimer *françois* à *lois*. . . ."

A foreigner learning French, the argument continues, would be astonished to find that *je croyois*, *j'octroyois*, are pronounced *je croyais*, *j'octroyais*.

"Les plus belles langues . . . sont celles où les mêmes syllabes portent toujours une prononciation uniforme: telle est la langue

⁴ Note of Georges Avenel, vol. 8, p. 20, *Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, edition of Garnier Frères.

italienne. . . . Vous dites *anglais, portugais, français*; mais vous dites *danois, suédois*. . . . Et pourquoi, en prononçant *anglais* et *portugais*, mettez-vous un *o* à l'un et un *a* à l'autre?"

The correspondence on this point between Voltaire and D'Alembert is of interest, and may conclude this brief presentation of the case. D'Alembert, commenting on the article just quoted, says in a letter dated March 11, 1770:

"Les remarques sur l'orthographe de *françois* sont très justes; mais on ferait peut-être bien d'ajouter que *français* ne représente guère mieux la prononciation, et qu'on devrait écrire *francès*, comme *procès*. C'est un autre abus de notre écriture que cet emploi d'*ai* pour *è*."

To this criticism Voltaire replies at length with the following list of "because" in defense of his own spelling:

"Parce que dans plusieurs livres nouveaux on emploie *français* et non pas *francès*; parce qu'on doit écrire *je fais, tu fais, il fait*, et non pas *je fès, tu fès, il fèt*; parce que la diphthongue *ai* indique bien plus sûrement la prononciation qu'un accent qu'on peut mettre de travers, qu'on peut oublier, et que les provinciaux prononcent toujours mal; parce que la diphthongue *ai* a bien plus d'analogie avec tous les mots où elle est employée; parce qu'elle montre mieux l'étymologie. *Je fais, facio; je plais, placeo; je tais, taceo*. Vous voyez qu'il y a toujours un *a* dans le latin."⁵

But D'Alembert, unconvinced, replies:

"Je conviens d'abord que *françois* est absurde, et que *français* est plus raisonnable; mais pourquoi employer deux lettres *a i* pour marquer un son simple comme celui de l'*è* dans *procès*? La raison de l'étymologie me paraît faible, car il y a mille autres mots où l'orthographe fait faux bond à l'étymologie, et avec raison, parce que la première règle, et la seule raisonnable, est d'écrire comme on prononce."

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⁵ Lettre à M. D'Alembert, 19 mars, 1770.

REVIEWS

F F Communications. Edited for the Folklore Fellows by Walter Anderson, Johannes Bolte, Kaarle Krohn, Knut Liestøl, C. W. von Sydow. Vols. IX-XII, Nos. 42-46, Helsingfors and Porvoo, 1922-1923; Nos. 49, 50, Helsingfors and Greifswald, 1923; Vols. XIII-XIV, Nos. 47-48, Helsingfors, 1922.

In the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. xiii (1922), pp. 276-278, ten numbers (32-41) of the *F F Communications* were reviewed. Scarcely more than a year has elapsed and nine additional numbers containing most important contributions to the modern scientific study of folktales and religion have been issued. When we consider the magnitude of some of these, over four hundred and fifty pages, and the complicated presswork involved, we are lost in admiration of intellectual activity continuing under the untoward circumstances of modern Europe. The volumes are, moreover, models of typography so far as paper and print are concerned.

Of the five new numbers, one (No. 44) is a continuation of *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker* by K. F. Karjalainen, the first part of which (No. 41) I have noticed in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, xiii, 278. The second part, 386 pages, deals with the "Geisterwelt," and contains a wealth of material of the greatest value for the history of religion. This volume treats first the spirits appearing locally in the guise of human beings; then, spirits in general. There are interesting chapters also on spirits connected with diseases and on demons.

Before examining the new material I would mention briefly No. 46, *The Norwegian Fairytales. A short Summary* by Reidar Th. Christiansen, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 40. In the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, xiii, 279, I noticed Christiansen's *Norske Folkeminne*, Kristiania, 1921, a detailed catalogue of all the Norwegian *märchen* preserved in printed books or in manuscript collections in the various libraries of Norway. In order to make this catalogue more accessible to scholars, Christiansen in the *Communication* mentioned above has given in English a *résumé* of the Norwegian tales, classified both as to *motif* and with reference to geographical distribution. In other words, this brief list is really an index to Christiansen's larger work and will greatly lighten the labors of the student of popular tales.

The new *Communications* are: vol. IX, No. 42, *Kaiser und Abt. Die Geschichte eines Schwanks* von Walter Anderson, Helsingfors, 1923, pp. vi, 449; vol. X, No. 43, *Die Religion der Ostslaven* von V. J. Mansikka, i. *Quellen*, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 408; vol. XII, No. 45, *Die Dämonistischen Krankheiten im Finnischen Volksaberglauben, vergleichende Volksmedizinische Untersuchung* von Ilmari Manninen, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 253; No. 47, *Das Estnisch-Ingermanländische Maie-Lied* von Antti Aarne, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 253; *Das Lied vom Angeln der Jungfrau Vellamos* von Antti Aarne, pp. 92; No. 49, *Der singende Knochen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Märchenforschung* von Dr. Lutz Mackensen (Helsingfors, 1923, pp. v, 174); No. 50, *Der Märchentypus von König Drosselbart* von Dr. Phil. Ernst Philippson (Greifswald, 1923, pp. 101).

The first number (42) mentioned above is a history of the jest made famous by Bürger's "Der Kaiser und der Abt," and well known to English readers from the ballad of "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury" in Percy's *Collection*.

It was the author's intention to publish his work in Russian in the memoirs of the University of Kasan in two large volumes, one of which did appear in 1916 and filled over 520 pages, containing in great detail the literary variants of the story. The second volume of the Russian edition was completed in manuscript in 1915, but did not appear in print, owing to the Revolution and the ensuing Bolshevism. In the published volume of the original Russian work the material collected by the author and his friends was given at great length and the texts were printed in full. In the German version the oral variants are condensed into a bibliographical list, completed by a table of variants. Fortunately, the investigation into the origin and history of the story is given in the German version with only unimportant abridgments. Had the work appeared as the author originally planned, it would have been no exaggeration to say of it that it was the most extensive and thorough treatment of a single story yet produced. Even in the abbreviated German version the history fills 450 pages and treats 167 literary and 427 oral variants. The labor involved merely in tabulating this huge mass of material, much of it new even to the most widely-read scholars, must have been enormous. What gigantic strides have been made in the study of individual stories and motifs since the days of Gaston Paris, Reinhold Köhler and Emmanuel Cosquin, will be evident from a glance at this volume, with its elaborate statistical and geographical treatment. This new method is largely due to the efforts of the scholars of Northern Europe, and has its organ in the *F F Communications*.

It is impossible in the space here available to do more than briefly notice some of the results of Anderson's investigation. The history of the story, in chronological order, is given in Chapter X, pp. 381-397. According to Anderson, the story arose in some Jewish community of the Near East (perhaps in Egypt), probably a short time before the Arabic conquest (about the beginning of the VIIth century). The oldest version spread over the other countries of the Near East and flourished there almost unchanged for over a thousand years, viz., until the beginning of the XXth century, when it was written down in Mesopotamia and Ceylon. Not later than the XIIIth century, somewhere in the Christian Orient (perhaps in Greece) the old simplified version of "Der Kaiser und der Abt" arose and spread through literary channels to Bulgaria and by oral tradition to the south of France. The original version reached the west of Europe not later than the first half of the XIIIth century, possibly brought home by the French Crusaders. It is impossible to follow here the subsequent history of the story, with the changes in characters and questions, until, about the beginning of the XVIIth century, it entered literature in the form of the English ballad and, in 1784, in the *rifacimento* of the same by Bürger.

Of still greater importance, perhaps, are the results of Anderson's study of certain general principles relating to the origin and diffusion of folktales. Earlier in the study of this subject a sharp distinction was made between *märchen* and *schwänke*. The former were treated as connected with mythological and, later, anthropological origins, and their diffusion was explained in accordance with these theories. *Schwänke*, on the other hand, were accounted to be largely of literary origin and diffused chiefly through literary channels. On any other theory it seemed impossible to explain the remarkable diffusion of a great body of stories, not *märchen*, and the equally remarkable preservation unchanged of the incidents of the story. These questions are treated by Anderson in Chapter XI, pp. 397-411, "Allgemeine Beobachtungen," in which six questions are discussed, the most im-

portant of which is the first: "Das Gesetz der Selbstberichtigung der Volkserzählungen." The investigator of *märchen*, *schwänke*, etc., says Anderson, is struck by the enormous stability of these products of the popular mind. In his pursuit he perceives that long and complicated narratives live for many centuries and spread from mouth to mouth over the whole globe without suffering on their way any important change. How is this to be accounted for?

Some attribute it to the strength and clearness of the illiterate memory. Although there is some foundation for this view, it is in sharp contradiction to a well-known fact, that the individual variants in most cases are very near the original form, which, however, is almost never repeated exactly. In wandering from mouth to mouth these variations for some reason become harmonized, the gaps filled, the interpolations rejected, and the original form of the story arises anew. We face an apparently inexplicable contradiction; on one hand the constant rise of new variations from the original form, on the other the constant rapid disappearance of these variations and the reconstruction of the original story.

This extraordinary stability of popular tales is explained by Anderson on the theory that each narrator of the story has heard it not once but many times from his predecessor, and has heard it not from one person but from a whole line of persons and in various versions. The first circumstance removes the mistakes and gaps which arise from the weakness of the narrator's memory, as well as the deviations which he by chance has sometimes permitted himself; the second circumstance eliminates the mistakes and variations which are peculiar to one or other of the sources of the hearer. A popular narrator (*Volkserzähler*) hears then, as a rule, a *märchen* or *schwank* not from one person but from several and at the same time in different versions; while combining these versions and by the aid of comparison removing purely fortuitous additions and deviations from the original form, he is performing on a small scale and more or less consciously the same work as the investigator undertakes on the basis of an incomparably greater material; he reconstructs the original form of the folktale in question. It follows from what has been said that the oral variants of any tale, no matter how many we can assemble, do not allow themselves to be arranged in the form of a genealogical tree (as the manuscripts of a literary work may be); on the contrary, such a detailed tree as, for example, that constructed by Gaston Paris for the *märchen* of the "Ungrateful Wife" (*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIII) has not in the large majority of cases the slightest scientific significance; the utilization of new material is likely to upset in a moment the most brilliant genealogical arborization.

It is impossible to do more than mention the topics treated in the five other divisions of Chapter XI. They are: (2) Spread of variations from the original form, change of the normal form of the narrative; (3) The fortuitous preservation of modern varieties of an old form which has died out; (4) Stories of kaleidoscopic variations; (5) The ways in which popular stories are diffused; and (6) Contamination of written variants by oral ones. A word must, however, be said of Anderson's discussion in (5) of the channels of diffusion of folktales, with certain general rules, e.g., that they usually spread from peoples of a higher stage of civilization to those of a lower, and follow the paths of the most active civilized intercourse, even if they lead over great expanses of water. The diffusion of folktales is more or less hindered by all sorts of boundaries, physical, political, linguistic, cultural and religious. Interesting are the cases in which the various

kinds of boundaries do not correspond with each other. Sometimes we see the political boundaries stronger than the linguistic; sometimes the reverse is true. A very remarkable example is Belgium, where in spite of the century-long political and religious unity of the country the sharpest distinction exists between the Flemish and Walloon variants of the "Kaiser und der Abt," the former are closely connected with the German variants, the latter with the French. Charles V, so popular in North Belgium, is not even mentioned in South Belgium.

The second of the new *Communications*, Mansikka's *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, is another remarkable contribution to the history of religions, and is a model of method in the use of archaeological and written material for the reconstruction of the religious beliefs of a people in prehistoric and historical times. The author, in his preface, tells the sad story—too frequent, alas!—of the frustration of literary and scientific plans by the war and its political and economic results. The keen interest in the study of the history of the religion of the East European peoples, he says, awakened the thought of subjecting the mythological material of the East Slavic peoples, *i.e.*, Russian, Ukrainian, and White-Russian, to a fresh examination. Three years of study in Russia during the war afforded an excellent opportunity to realize this thought, defeated to a large extent by the ensuing Revolution. In spite of these drawbacks the author collected a large amount of new material for his first volume dealing with the sources of our knowledge of the religious beliefs of the peoples in question. The archaeological contribution is slight, consisting almost wholly of material throwing light on the manner of the disposal of the dead and the inferences drawn from it. There are almost no remains of buildings used for religious purposes, places for sacrifice, altars, etc. On the other hand a rich and varied material illustrative of the burial customs of the centuries before the introduction of Christianity is afforded by the East Slavic graves. Burial and cremation were practiced, and it is evident that these various customs presuppose the fear of the power of the dead, precautions to prevent his return, worship of the dead, belief in life beyond the grave—in which state the needs of the deceased were much like those of the present life; etc.

If the archaeological material is slight, the written material is extensive and diversified. Besides historical works (Old-Russian and Polish Chronicles), there is a wealth of material in sermons, instructions, and epistles. To these must be added the Old-Russian ecclesiastical legislation, and rules for penance. All of the sources just mentioned are Old-Russian, and must be supplemented by the evidence of foreign writers. These range from Procopius, in the VIth century, to travellers, diplomats and ecclesiastical writers of the XVIIIth. The results of the study of these historical materials will be given in a second volume, devoted to the Cult of the Dead. Meanwhile the student will find in the present work, as has already been said, a very remarkable example of the use of historical writings for the reconstruction of the religious beliefs and customs of the times contemporary with them.

No. 45 of the new *Communications* deals with the diseases in Finnish popular superstition attributed to the influence of demons. Instead of finding the cause of disease within the human organism, popular belief regards it as something extraneous and produced by an external, inimical and harmful power. These external superhuman powers which are believed to be the causes of disease are divided into two groups: those exercised by superhuman beings, spirits; and magical powers controlled and utilized by fellow mortals. These two groups often commingle, as

where the magical powers employed by the magicians in invoking diseases upon their fellow-men are consciously traced to the spirits. The author of the work before us rejects the division of diseases into those produced by gods and those caused by magic, and finds that the attribution of diseases to the gods, so far as Finland is concerned, is of foreign origin. As the object of the work is not to embrace the primitive explanation of all diseases but only of those which the Finnish people attribute to spirits, divinities, demons, and animate nature, the author does not here dwell on the mutual relations between these and the diseases produced by magic, although the latter occupy an important place in Finnish pathology. No sharp line can be drawn, however, between the diseases produced by magic and those treated in this work, because magicians have often resorted to supernatural powers to bewitch their fellow-creatures. Hence the author must occasionally touch on these. By the side of these two great supernatural causes of disease, *viz.*, spirits and magic powers, the 'natural' causes of diseases have played a very slight rôle in the popular conception. Indeed, the most natural symptoms and even accidental injuries are attributed to supernatural causes.

The author divides his rich material into two parts: Diseases with reference (1) to their origin, and (2) to their outward manifestation. In the first class, in nine chapters, are considered the diseases produced by the departed spirits or bodies of the dead; by the spirits of the earth and by the earth itself; by spirits of the forest and by the forest itself; by water and water spirits; by the wind; by the fire; by house and bath spirits; by special divinities and various causes; and, finally, by the demons of disease. In each chapter the Finnish material is exhaustively treated and then compared with the beliefs of other Northern countries. These comparisons (*Vergleiche*) display the extraordinary erudition of the author and are rendered possible by an elaborate system of bibliography.

The second division treats of the outward manifestations of diseases, such as demoniacal "possession," convulsions, etc., incubus, stroke, "Hexenschuss," etc. The work ends with a consideration of the popular beliefs in regard to infection and contagion, and a final word on the most important results of the author's investigation.

The subject of the extensive monograph No. 49 is the story represented in Grimm, No. 28, "Der singende Knochen," and found as a ballad throughout all Scandinavia and Great Britain. The author treats the diffusion and contents of the story and ballad; the reconstruction of the primitive form; the home of the typical story; its age; the contributions of the individual fields of diffusion; and the literary and scientific treatment of the story. This occupies 114 pages, and is followed by 60 pages of variants, which are arranged geographically and analysed as to previous history and principal episodes. This is combined with a very exact bibliography of sources and will greatly facilitate the labors of comparative story-ologists. I have not space for Dr. Mackensen's conclusions, but it may be said in brief that he regards the *märchen* as a narrative born from the beliefs and emotions (*Empfinden*) of the people, and hence can arise everywhere and in every time. The *märchen* is as old as the *Sage* and *Schwank* and like the latter serves for the earliest need of entertainment. In the words of the author: "Das märchen ist der Roman der Primitiven, daher auch sein Streben nach glücklicher Lösung."

No. 50 is also devoted to the study of one type of story (Grimm, No. 52, "König Drosselbart"). The author arranges his variants (mostly taken from Bolte and Polivka's notes to Grimm) according to the system of Kaarle Krohn, *F F C*, 13 (ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. VII, p. 116). The peculiarity of Dr. Philipp-

son's treatment of his variants consists in a minute analysis of the incidents of each, which are represented by letters of the alphabet, large and small. With these it is possible to construct the statistics of the *motifs* of the variants. These statistics to the uninitiated must appear like curious algebraic formulas, but are really only space and labor-saving devices.

The results of Dr. Philippon's investigations are summed up on p. 100, and may be briefly stated as follows: On geographical and historical grounds the home of this story is to be sought on German soil; the modern general (*allgemeine*) form of the story goes back to the minstrel art of the Middle Ages, whether the minstrels reconstructed the story out of the Germanic original or constructed it anew out of the German elements which are proven to have existed.

Finally, Nos. 47-48 are devoted to the comparative investigation by Antti Aarne of two *Volkslieder*: *Das Estnisch-Ingermanländische Maie-Lied*, and *Das Lied vom Angeln der Jungfrau Vellamos*. The first of these investigations deals with the widely spread Esthonian ballad of the young wife who kills her husband in his bed and flees from punishment, invoking in vain for help the trees and other natural objects which she encounters on her flight. The second investigation treats the episode in the *Kalevala* where Väinämöinen fishes in vain for the mermaid Vellamos. As Nos. 47-48 were received after this review was in print, I am able only to indicate here their subjects and hope to return later to these masterly essays in which the new methods of study of popular tales are applied to *Volkslieder*.

Once again I would earnestly call the attention of American scholars to the remarkable enterprise embodied in the *FF Communications*, of which I have reviewed fifty numbers, constituting fourteen volumes. They have revealed to the world of scholarship an entirely new method of study in folktales and indicated the whereabouts of vast masses of material hitherto unknown except to a few specialists. It is strange that this great enterprise has received so little attention in this country and in England. In spite of the troublous condition of Europe the *FF Communications* continue their uninterrupted career, and produce volume after volume of well-printed works of the highest scientific value. American scholars know how hard it is to find publishers for works of special interest. How do they manage these things in Helsingfors, Hamina, Sortavala and Porvoo?

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Las Leys d'Amors. Manuscrit de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux. Publié par Joseph Anglade, professeur de langue et littérature méridionales à l'Université de Toulouse, mainteneur de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux. 4 vols. Toulouse, Paris, 1919-1920.¹

The manuscript which Professor Anglade has here published is one that has been preserved in the archives of the Jeux Floraux. During the past century it has tempted a number of scholars. Gatién-Arnoult, who published another version

¹ Joseph Anglade was born at Lézignan, département de l'Aude, in 1868. He took his degrees at the universities of Toulouse and Montpellier. After completing his studies he became professor in turn at the universities of Rennes and Nancy, and finally professor of Southern language and literature in the University of Toulouse. He was one of the founders of the *Institut d'Études Méridionales*, and for many years has been a *Mainteneur* of the *Jeux Floraux de Toulouse*. Since the publication in 1905 of his doctoral dissertation, "Le Troubadour Guiraut

of the *Leys d'Amors*, announced his intention of editing it, but failed to do so. Dumège, author of *Institutions de Toulouse* and *Biographies toulousaines*, was also attracted to the task. Camille Chabaneau printed a number of extracts from it in the *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, and intended to bring it out in its entirety, but its publication was held in abeyance until undertaken by Professor Anglade. The *Leys d'Amors* was originally a work of collaboration whose preparation occupied a period of not less than twenty or twenty-five years. According to Chabaneau there were at least three *états* of the *Leys* before the work was completed: a first one, of which perhaps the *Compendi* of Joan de Castelnou is a résumé; a second, which must have been the version in five books that was published by Gatien-Arnoult, entitled *Flors del Gay Saber*; ² and the final redaction in three books, which is the one here edited by Professor Anglade. The five-book version contains treatises on Grammar, Rhetoric and Poetics. The three-book version omits the Rhetoric. In it, book I is devoted to an account of the founding of the "Gay Science," followed by a series of religious poems, and by some general notions of theology and the liberal arts. Book II is a treatise on poetics; and book III is a treatise on grammar. The historical summary gives precious information concerning the founding of the Jeux Floraux. In publishing the work, Professor Anglade has devoted a volume to each book, and a fourth volume to studies on the manuscript. In each of the three volumes of the text he has given footnotes of a paleographic nature and concordances with the edition of Gatien-Arnoult. The fourth volume is devoted to studies of the origin or beginnings of the society, to the sources from which the authors of the *Leys* drew their material, and to a history of the *Leys*. Ample footnotes are provided, and the volume is supplemented at the end by *excursus*, notes to the first three volumes, and an index of common and proper names, which serves also as a glossary.

The period of the Crusades saw the decline of feudalism and the rise to consciousness of the middle class. The profession of the Troubadour was an out-

Riquier," Professor Anglade has been identified with the scholars of South France, and has been actively engaged in research on the ancient Troubadours and their successors of the Jeux Floraux. He made his initial study of the Troubadours under the renowned Chabaneau at Montpellier. His work on the "last Troubadour," Guiraut Riquier, gave promise of what might be expected of him in the field of scholarship, and in the years that have intervened since the publication of this first work Professor Anglade has proved to be not only a prolific but a sound scholar. The following partial list of his published works affords a glimpse of the nature and range of his productive studies. His thesis was followed in 1908 by *Les Troubadours* (Paris); *Les Poésies de Peire Vidal, troubadour toulousain* (Paris, 1913); *La Bataille de Muret d'après la Chanson de la Croisade* (Toulouse, Paris, 1913); *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ancien français* (Paris, 1918); *Documents sur Toulouse et sa région* (Toulouse, Privat); *Poésies du Troubadour Rigaut de Barbezieux* (Montpellier, 1920); *Poésies du Troubadour Peire Raimon de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1920); *Onomastique des Troubadours* (Montpellier, 1920); *Grammaire de l'ancien Provençal, ou ancienne Langue d'oc* (Paris, 1920); *Les Origines du gai savoir* (Paris, 1920); *Histoire de la Littérature méridionale au moyen âge* (Paris, 1921). Not only has Professor Anglade been an indefatigable student of the Troubadours and the literature of the South, but he has imbibed the ancient spirit of the Gay Science to such an extent that his circle of devoted friends have dubbed him "le dernier Troubadour," at times converting the phrase with covert mischievousness into "le dernier des Troubadours." In Anglade are combined that gayety of heart and sober philosophy of life which were characteristic of many of the old Troubadours. [Titles since 1921 not included.]

² Under the same title there is a version of the *Leys* in verse, as yet unedited.

growth of feudalism, and the poetry of the Troubadours had been primarily aristocratic, composed for the entertainment of the nobles in manor-house and château. With the decline of feudalism came a corresponding decadence of poetry, violently hastened by the crusade against the Albigenses, when what is now Southern France passed under the control of the king of France. In order to consolidate the gains of the church from this religious conquest, the Pope founded the University of Toulouse in 1229 and established the Inquisition, with headquarters at Toulouse. By the end of the fourteenth century Toulouse and the surrounding territory had become thoroughly subdued to orthodoxy and submissive to the church. The Albigensian war was fatal to the Troubadours, many of whom lost their lives in the course of it, while still others sought safety in flight to foreign lands—principally Italy and Spain. Notwithstanding the troubles of the times, however, the spirit of poetry survived, and poetry continued to be produced throughout the thirteenth century. The period of the Troubadours closes with Guiraut Riquier, who died in the last decade of the century. Of Riquier's poems many were pervaded by a religious tone, and this character of devoutness was bequeathed to his successors of the literary association known as the *Consistory de la Gaya Sciensa* (otherwise called *Gay Saber*), which was organized at Toulouse in 1323.

The circumstances of its foundation were as follows: On Tuesday after All Saints' Day of that year, seven self-styled Troubadours met in a leafy grove in a *faubourg* of Toulouse and sent out a letter, composed in verse, to the poets of the South inviting them to gather there from the first to the third of May of the year next following, for a poetic tournament in which each should sing and recite his compositions. Of the original seven, only one belonged to the nobility; the rest were of the *bourgeoisie*. This is significant of the great social change which by that time had taken place. The contest for which invitations had been sent out took place on May 1-3 of the following year, 1324. The prize, a golden violet,³ was awarded to Arnaut Vidal, of Castelnaudary, who furthermore received the same year the title of Doctor of Gay Science for a *chanson* which he had composed in honor of the Virgin. The reunion of the poets became a fixed annual custom, and the seven founders became the official body known as the *Mainteneurs*.⁴ The Consistory came to be modeled after the university, being presided over by a Chancellor and granting degrees entitled Bachelor of Gay Saber and Doctor of Gay Saber (or *Gaya Sciensa*). Further to carry out the parallel with the university, the founders felt the need of a text-book from which they might give instruction to the aspirants. They determined to prepare a book of rules, and confided this task to the Chancellor Guilhem Molinier, under whose leadership the work by successive stages reached its final completion in 1336 and was called *Las Leys d'Amors*. Poetry was called "Amors," and the winning poet "Fin Ayman."

"Amors es bona voluntatz,
Plazers e deziriers de be,
E desplazers del mal que ve."—*Leys*, t. i, p. 69.

This definition reveals at once the moral and religious intention of the *Mainteneurs* of the Gay Science in contrast with the ideal of profane love of the earlier

³ Per quals dictaz hom dona las dictas joyas, so es assaber: flor de violets de fin aur, flor d'ayglentina, e flor de gaug de fin argen.—*Leys*, t. ii, p. 26.

⁴ Li senhor acostumat a jutjar e donar las ditas joyas e cil que son recebut e creat per lor son nomnat *Mantenedor del Gay Saber* o *Mantenedor d'Amors* o *del joy d'Amors*.—*Leys*, t. ii, p. 27.

Troubadours. The author of the *Leys* endeavors to give broad significance to the work by connecting it with philosophy: "Philozophia se deshen e-s deriva d'aquesta dictio greca *philos*, que vol dir *amor*, e per so Amors pot esser dicha mayres de *philozophia*." And philosophy embraces the liberal arts. In this manner the author connects the *Leys* with the usual curriculum of the middle ages, the Quadrivium and the Trivium, carrying out the idea of a text-book which should be in harmony with the conventional course of study of the times. This idea is carried further in the inclusion of treatments of theology and ethics.

In his investigations Professor Anglade has included an illuminating study of the sources of the *Leys*. Its authors were obviously influenced by the writers of antiquity. The writers of the middle ages generally knew the great works of antiquity only through excerpts or extracts, in which the apocryphal was freely intermingled with the genuine. Our editor concludes that Guilhem Molinier used only second-hand knowledge of the ancient writers. He drew freely from the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, and from the *Ars loquendi et tacendi* and other works of Albertano da Brescia, the *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* (which he attributes to Saint Thomas), and the treatises of Saint Martin de Braga. He also utilized passages from the Bible, and from the church fathers, which he drew from the above-mentioned treatises. The poetic examples are drawn largely from the Troubadour N'At de Mons. The editor draws the conclusion that

"la manière de composer de l'auteur des *Leys* est donc conforme à la méthode employée au Moyen âge, époque où la recherche de l'originalité, du moins dans les ouvrages didactiques, avait peu d'importance, et où le fin de l'art consistait à bien choisir un modèle et à le piller vigoureusement, tantôt en le nommant, le plus souvent sans lui faire même cet honneur."

The grammatical sources are to be found in Priscian, Isidore of Seville, Donatus, Évrard de Béthune, and probably Alexandre de Villedieu, whose *Doctrinale* was a very popular text-book in the universities of the middle ages.

"En résumé, le fonds des doctrines grammaticales des *Leys* est emprunté aux grammairiens latins, et, en particulier, à Priscien, à Isidore de Séville et à Donat. Ces doctrines s'étaient déformées pendant le Moyen âge. Aussi l'œuvre de Guilhem Molinier porte la trace de ces déformations. Il a sans doute connu dans leur texte les grammairiens latins qu'il cite: mais il connaissait aussi ses contemporains. Et surtout la langue à laquelle il a cherché à appliquer les règles latines était par sa structure assez différente de la langue-mère. Toutes ces causes réunies font que Guilhem Molinier, tout en voulant conserver la doctrine grammaticale des Latins, a écrit une œuvre relativement originale."

A valuable feature of the editor's work is his study entitled "Histoire des *Leys d'Amors*." The Consistory of Gay Science desired that Chancellor Molinier should assemble in a single text all the knowledge that had hitherto been dispersed in divers works. He was acquainted with the grammatical treatises which had been composed before him: *Las Razos de trobar* of Raimon Vidal de Besalu (an abridged grammar which is several times quoted in the *Leys*); the *Donatz Proensals* of Uc Faidit, a treatise on metrics as well as on grammar which does not seem to have been well known in the region of the Langue d'Oc, but which was known to the authors of the *Leys*. A remaniement of this work was made towards the end of the thirteenth century by a Catalan, Jaufre de Foixá. In September, 1324, shortly after the first contest of the Gay Science, Raimon de Cornet wrote a *Doctrinal de trobar*, and in 1341 appeared a *Glose* on this work by Joan de Castelnou, in which occurs the earliest mention of the *Leys* that has been found. Joan de Castelnou was also author of a *Compendi* or abridgment of the *Leys d'Amors*.

The most ardent disciples of the Toulouse school were the Catalans. The Catalan poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries used the literary language of the Troubadours. In the fourteenth century, the poetic language of the Catalans assumes its own personality, but the spirit which animates it is that of the Toulouse school. This influence, although not always a fortunate one, persisted for several centuries. Two Catalan poets received prizes at Toulouse in the fourteenth century; a manuscript written in Catalonia in the same century contains, in addition to poems of Catalan Troubadours, a series of poems of the Toulouse school which are not to be found elsewhere. In 1371, scarcely sixteen years after the "promulgation" of the *Leys d'Amors*, King Peter IV of Aragon, poet and protector of poetry, intrusted to one of his councilors, Jacme March, the task of drawing up a book of concordances or dictionary of rhymes. Finally, in 1393, John I, king of Aragon, commissioned this same Jacme March and a certain Luis de Aversó, citizen of Barcelona, to establish in Barcelona a Consistory modeled after that of Toulouse. In 1398 King Martin gave to the Consistory 40 florins in gold for founding prizes, and Ferdinand I gave a like amount in 1413. To this period belong a Catalan translation of one of the prose versions of the *Leys d'Amors* and the versified redaction of the *Flors del Gai Saber*, the manuscript of the latter being the only one which has been preserved. March's book of concordances remains unedited. Luis de Aversó, in order to spread a knowledge of the *Gaya Sciensa* among his compatriots, composed a *Torcimany* or dictionary "loqual tracta de la Sciencia gaya de trobar."

From Barcelona the influence of the Gay Saber spread early into the kingdom of Majorca, as is evidenced by Enrique Villena, who quotes from a Majorcan, Guillem Vedel, author of a treatise oddly called after his own name, *Suma Vitulina*. In Castile and Portugal the Gay Science seems to have had less influence than in Catalonia. Only the title has been preserved of Juan Manuel's *Arte de trobar*, which was probably influenced by an earlier draft of the *Leys*. A remaining fragment of a *Poetics* seems to echo a distant influence of the *Leys*. Berenguer de Noya, a native probably of Majorca, composed a *Mirall de trobar*, which must have been inspired at least by the *Leys*. While only fragments are extant of Villena's *Arte de trobar*, they are sufficient to show the influence of the Toulouse school. The Marquess of Santillana seems to know the Provençal poets only through his master Villena. Baena was no doubt familiar with a version of the *Leys*. The Catalan chronicler Miquel Carboneil is authority for the statement that a Catalan poet of the fifteenth century, Jaume Ripoll, had commented in Catalan verse on the *Leys*. The *Art nova de trobar* of the Majorcan Francesch de Oleza contains as it were a last echo of the *Leys*. The *Leys d'Amors* does not seem to have been known to the writers of the *langue d'oïl*. Not until 1539 is an echo found in the *Art et Science de Rhétorique* of Gratiens Du Pont, of Toulouse. At the end of the sixteenth century Pierre du Faur de Saint Jory finds occasion to quote from the *Leys* in his *Agnosticon*, where he compares the poetic jousts of the Jeux Floraux to the games of antiquity.

Professor Anglade has accomplished a well-rounded piece of work. His edition of the *Leys d'Amors* will no doubt take rank as a monument among the productions of its kind.

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